PROVINCIA DI TORINO

BIBLIOTECA

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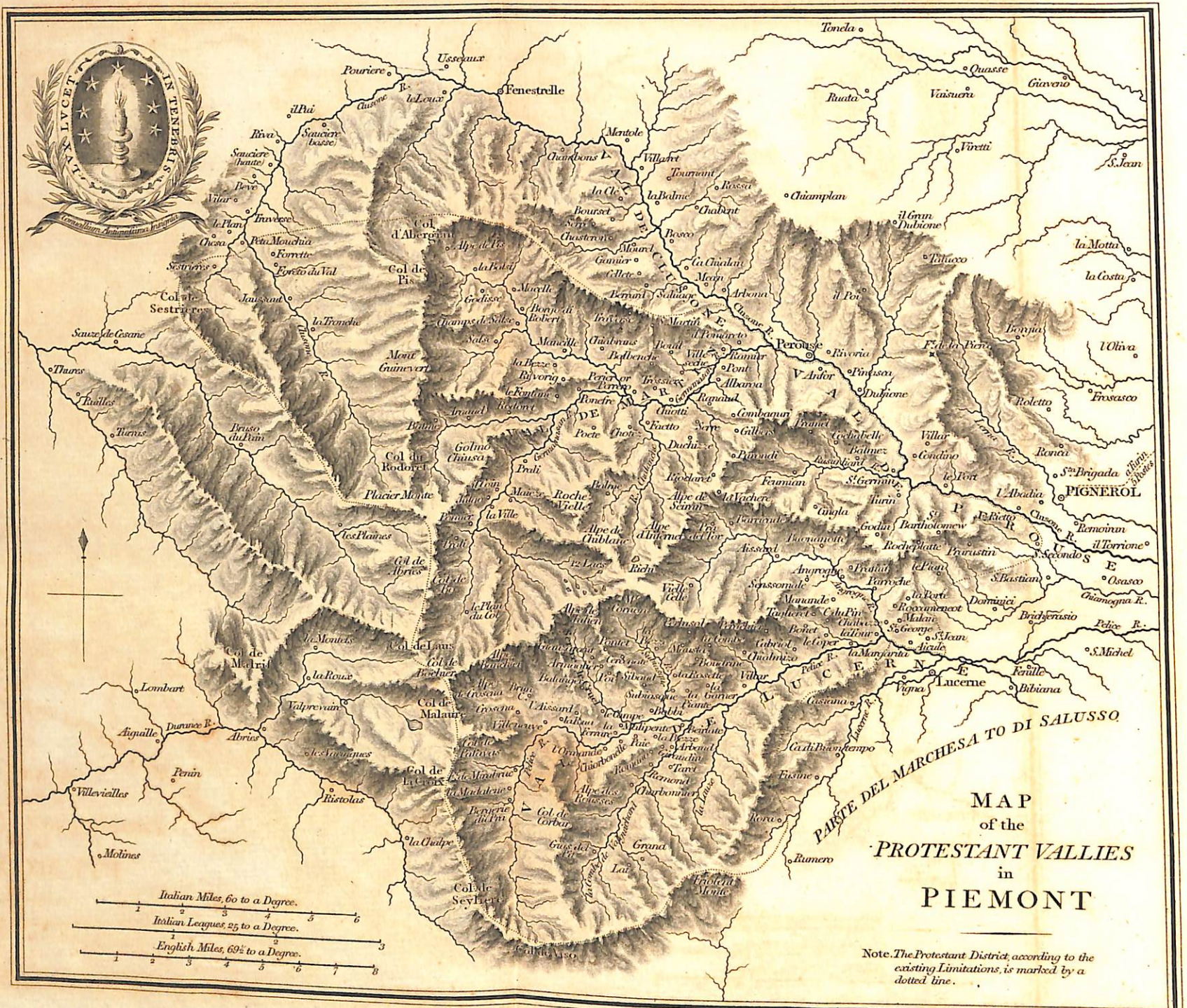
PROVINCIA DI TORINO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Chiamogna R.
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Sestrieres
Jaussant
Sauze de Cesane
Thaines
Taillas
Turnis
Fraso du Pin
Mont Guinevert
la Tronche
Chesa
le Plan
Beve
Vilar
Seuciere (haute)
Seuciere (basse)
Riva
il Pui
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Fenestrelle
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Foreto du Val
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Col de Mandrue
la Madelaine
Alpe des Reusses
Pepierre du Pin

THE

GLORIOUS RECOVERY

BY

THE VAUDOIS

OF

THEIR VALLEYS,

FROM THE ORIGINAL

BY HENRI ARNAUD,

THEIR COMMANDER AND PASTOR.

WITH

A COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF THAT PEOPLE,

PREVIOUS AND SUBSEQUENT TO THAT EVENT.

BY

HUGH DYKE ACLAND.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

MDCCCXXVII.

PROVINCIA DI TORINO
BIBLIOTECA

LONDON:
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TO

THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

WILLIAM, LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM,

THIS VOLUME

IS, BY PERMISSION, INSCRIBED

WITH THE HIGHEST RESPECT FOR HIS PIETY,

AND ADMIRATION OF HIS LEARNING.

PREFACE

BY THE EDITOR.

THE interest which has been lately excited in this country in behalf of the Vaudois, and has been so munificently displayed in the subscription for their relief, leads me to hope that a narrative of the most extraordinary event in their history, written by the principal actor in the scenes which he describes, will not be unacceptable to the British public.

It exhibits a war unparalleled, in ancient or modern history, unless by those of the Jews under the Maccabees, both in the disproportion of the conflicting parties, and in the almost miraculous success of the smaller.

There is, indeed, no slight resemblance between the struggles of the Vaudois, in modern times, and those wars of the Jews. Both parties were incited by attachment to true religion

to an excess of heroism; their spiritual leaders became their leaders in war; extermination of their peculiar faith was in each case the object of their oppressors; and as Antiochus Epiphanes had in view the acquisition of the Judaic territory, so also the retention of the valleys from Louis XIV. was one motive of Victor Amadeus in this last and most oppressive persecution of the Vaudois.

We read that "many of the Jews went down into the wilderness to dwell there, both they, and their children, and their wives, and their cattle." "They were gone down into the secret places." The Vaudois also went up to the wilderness of the highest mountains with their families, and concealed themselves in caverns and other secret places.

The unwillingness of the Jews to give battle on the Sabbath, finds its parallel in the tardiness of the Vaudois to take up arms, till assured by their pastors of the lawfulness of the measure. Nor is there wanting some similarity between the tests of submission required by their respective oppressors, namely, idolatry on the one hand, and on the other the ceremony of mass.

But the most striking point of resemblance, and forcibly striking it is, will be found in the duration, for *an exactly similar period*, of the two calamities which are severally most replete with horror, and most connected with religion, in these two histories, namely, the abomination of desolation set up in the temple by Antiochus, and that (for the term is not too strong) by Victor Amadeus II. in the valleys. In each case there was a total expulsion of inhabitants from their country, and with them, of true religion. The temple of Jerusalem was defiled by the idolatry of the Gentiles—the churches of the Vaudois by the image-worship of the Romanists.

The period of desolation was three years and a half*; at the expiration of which the Vaudois under Henry Arnaud, as the Jews under Judas Maccabeus, recovered their heritage, and re-established their faith.

Those who are intimate with the history of the Vaudois are aware that, in this particular event, as well as in their general circumstances, they have been supposed to present a partial

* Vitringa, p. 449.

accomplishment of some prophecies in the Apocalypse.

Some have been bold enough to assume, in the general history of the Vaudois, in their expatriation and recovery of their country, a perfect antitype of the witnesses who should prophesy for 1260 days, or prophetic years, should be slain by the beast, and, their bodies having been exposed for three days and a half, should again stand on their feet; "the spirit of life having entered into them from God." Among these interpreters are Boyer, Bishop Lloyd, and Whiston.

There are, however, three palpable discrepancies in this interpretation. The Vaudois church, though it may have been *one*, could not be *two* witnesses. Again, the second woe is past when the witnesses arise; but the Vaudois church was almost immediately subject to another severe oppression, as were the protestants in Guienne to a violent persecution. Thirdly, as a definition of the period of 1260 years is necessary to these interpreters, they are compelled to fix its commencement, or the first appearance of the dragon and antichrist, in the

fifth century; "for then," say they, "the pope first arrogated universal power, as Bishop of Rome, when Innocent I. received appeals from the African and Asiatic churches, and excommunicated the emperor." This isolated fact, however, supplies us with argument affecting only Innocent I. In order to attach any inference drawn from it to papacy in general, it would be necessary that the successors of Innocent, like those of Boniface, should have continually persisted in this claim of universal supremacy. But we find that, instead of doing so, Gregory the Great thus expressed himself at the end of the *sixth* century: "I affirm it confidently that whoever calls himself universal bishop, or is desirous to be so called, demonstrates himself, by this pride and elation of heart, to be the forerunner of antichrist*." We should confound individual popes with papacy in general, no more than we would judge of the character of monarchy by the actions of a particular king.

There are, however, commentators on the prophecies of higher authority than those whose

* Bishop Hurd's Sermons at the Warburton Lecture, p. 226.

opinion has been now cited (with a view chiefly to its refutation), who consider the Vaudois church as decidedly marked in these prophecies, though by no means their ultimate or more important object.

The names of Mede, Vitringa, Bishop Newton, and Dean Woodhouse, will ensure respect for this opinion; and be a sufficient apology for stating the degree in which they have severally expressed it.

Mede asserts* that a type of the Vallenses and Albigenses is contained in "the remnant of the seed" of the woman who fled into the wilderness, "which keeps the commandments of God," with whom "the dragon was wroth †." He also considers them ‡ to be represented by the second angel who denounces Babylon §. Interpreting the seven vials || to be seven stages of the destruction of the antichristian beast, he conceives the Vallenses and the earliest reformers to be typified by the first; inasmuch, as with

* Mede's Works, p. 503, 504.
† Revelations, chap. xii. v. 17.
‡ Mede, p. 517.
§ Revelations, chap. xiv. v. 8.
|| Ibid.

them commenced the renunciation of the authority of the beast, when they publicly denounced Rome as Babylon, and the Pope as antichrist; thus inflicting "a noisome and grievous sore * on the men who had his mark," which has ever since been increasing. He also applies to them part of the prophecy in the 12th chapter of Daniel †. Should any one unacquainted with Mede's writings suspect him of misguided enthusiasm, let him contemplate the character of this distinguished divine, as drawn by Bishop Hurd ‡, who describes him as a man "candid and sincere; of no faction; with vast learning, well chosen, and well digested; without vanity, interest, or spleen; without any enthusiasm for any scheme of interpretation; devoting his great talents to the unfolding the prophecies; with no oblique purposes, but with the single unmixed love of truth."

Vitringa has discussed the possible relation of this church to the prophecies in the Revelations,

* The exposure of the errors and superstitions of popery, and the continued diminution of papal power.

† Mede, p. 722.

‡ Hurd's Sermons at Warburton's Lecture, p. 328, 329. 2d edition.

with so much ingenuity and labour, that a full statement of his opinions would very far exceed the limits of a preface.

He keeps it almost constantly in view throughout his disquisition on the eleventh and twelfth chapters. I will therefore confine myself to his most striking suggestions, and refer the reader for the authorities on which they rest to the acute and learned interpreter himself.

He first suggests* that the Vallenses and Albigenses are typified in the "morning star†" which shall be given to "him that overcometh‡," &c.

In the vision of the temple and the outer court§, he finds the representation of the pure church of Christ, *especially the Vallenses*‖, in the former, and in the latter the impure or Romish church; and considers that this vision alludes retrospectively to the desolation of the Temple by Antiochus¶; between which and the subject of the following history, I have stated so strong a resemblance.

* Vitringa, ανακρισις apocalypseos, p. 116.
† Revelations, chap. ii. v. 28.
‡ Ibid. v. 26.
§ Ibid. chap. xi. v. 1 and 2.
‖ Vitringa, p. 456. 458, 459.
¶ Ibid. p. 449, 450.

In the emblem of the two witnesses, Vitringa again finds a representation of the Vallenses, and unites the Albigenses with them in order to adapt the interpretation to the twofold character of the type.

This is at least an arbitrary selection from the many bodies of Christians co-existent with them, such as the Bohemians, Paterines, Cathari, &c. We might as well select the protestants in England, and those in France, to the exclusion of their brethren in the rest of Europe, as represented by the witnesses at this time. In a subsequent page*, indeed, Vitringa confesses the force of this objection, stating the *greatest* doubt whether the two witnesses can be applied to the sound Christians in any one state, or do not rather represent the great body of them throughout Europe†.

* Vitringa, p. 502.

† Usher, in the second paragraph of the second chapter de Statu et Successione Eccles. expresses an opinion that Mahomet and his church, as well as the pope, are typified in Antichrist, whose rise he fixes at the period when Boniface III. required and obtained from Phocas the title of universal bishop. He observes that, at the same time when Antichrist appeared in the west, Mahomet, the false prophet, sprang up in the east, and thus proceeds, " Apertus hic, opertus ille,

But one body of Christians can be only one witness.

duo maxima antiqui serpentis organa, quibus usus est in labefactandis ecclesiis apostolorum. *Et pari fere utraque incessu graduque, sunt progressa et augmentum cœperunt.*" Both are evidently kept in view by the learned prelate throughout his disquisition on the gradual growth of antichrist to maturity.

Dean Woodhouse has devoted the whole of sect. iv. part 4, of his work to this subject; and in the application of the type of the beast to Mahomet appears as successful, as when, in common with other protestant commentators, he attaches it to the pope.

Resting on the scriptural interpretation of the ram's two horns, in the 8th chapter of Daniel, v. 20, the dean assumes that the two horns of the beast signify, in like manner, two great powers. Now Mahomet, according to Prideaux, retired to his cave to commence his imposture in the year 606, the same in which Boniface III. usurped the title of universal bishop. In the person, then, of this false prophet, the dean discovers the second horn. With great exactness he fits the properties of Mahommedanism to the received notions of antichrist, and draws a striking parallel between the relative circumstances of the presumed antitypes which answer alike to the details of the prophecy. The difficulty of perfectly fitting the two horns of the type to popery has been felt by all the commentators. The opinions of some of them will be found in Vitringa, p. 615 et seq., and will not escape from the charge of extravagance. Usher, Prideaux, and Dean Woodhouse alone have recourse to the solution here stated.

But, if their opinion be well founded, may not the difficulty

Vitringa pursues this prophecy through all its stages to the death and resurrection of the wit-

of the second witness disappear with that of the second horn? If the Vallenses have been one witness under the western horn of the beast, may we not hope that their associate exists under the oppression of the eastern one? The Saracenic oppression has been as vast, as impious, and equally destructive of true Christianity, as that of the papists; Why, then, should we presume that God has been without "his witness" there? At any rate, such is our ignorance of the Christian churches in the East, that we have no right to deny the possibility of the case.

Gibbon informs us, on the authority of Assemannus, Geddes, La Croze, and La Haye, that there had been always an episcopal and primitive church, of 200,000 souls and 1,400 churches, on the coast of Malabar. Persecution by the Portuguese, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, drove a part of them towards the interior, where, according to Buchanan, they still exist, though in much less numbers, and retain an apostolic faith and form of church government. Nor let this appear astonishing, when we remember that Mr. Gilly lately introduced the general knowledge of a pure and primitive church in the Alps, contiguous to spots much visited by our countrymen. This partial ignorance with respect to the eastern churches has been in some degree dispersed by the late excellent Bishop of Calcutta. It is to be hoped that it may speedily be removed; and with it the justice of the deistical historian's remark, "that if oppression be less mortifying than contempt, the Christians of St. Thomas have reason to complain of the cold and silent indifference of their brethren in Europe." V. 8, p. 349.

nesses. He canvasses the opinions of previous interpreters, and after having suffered himself to be seduced from his usual caution by Scaliger and Cocceius, and having built up applications on the Vallenses and others for the purpose only of demonstrating their insufficiency, concludes with a positive declaration *, that, neither as to period nor events, can history produce the *final* accomplishment of this prophecy.

With the greatest decision, however, does this commentator apply the type of the woman who fled to the wilderness, as well as that of her seed †, to the Vallenses, Albigenses, Bohemians, &c., "but above all to the Vallenses ‡." He assumes an allusion to them also in the mystical number of those who sang before the throne §, as well as in the first vial, as already observed from Mede ||.

Bishop Newton, after an elaborate account of all persons who may be considered, individually or collectively, as true and faithful witnesses,

* Vitringa, p. 502.

† P. 558, ad finem capitis.

‡ Ibid. p. 639. Sed præcipue inter eos, Vallenses.

§ Revelations, chap. xiv. v. 3.

|| P. 700.

introduces the Vallenses in these terms *: "but the true witnesses, and, as I may say, the protestants of this age, were the Vallenses and Albigenses." He assents † also to the suggestion by Mede and Vitringa, that their denunciation of the church of Rome, as Babylon and Antichrist, entitles them to a relation with the first vial.

Dean Woodhouse also places the Vallenses among those who have a just claim to be represented by the witnesses, and though he does not elsewhere make mention of them, they may yet be implied in some of his general and well-guarded interpretations; as, for instance, in those of the woman who fled into the wilderness, and of the chosen 140,000.

More authorities might be produced to the same effect, but we have already sufficient for the supposition, that the Vallenses or Vaudois have been in some degree connected with one or more of the prophecies in question. The point in which commentators on this subject principally coincide, is the application of the

* Newton's Dissertation on the Prophecies, p. 169.

† Ibid. p. 256.

type of the witnesses: and, certainly, it would be inconsistent to reject, from this application, events so exactly fitted, in their nature and period of duration, to a part of the prophecy, as are the political death and resurrection of the Vaudois to the slaughter and resuscitation of the witnesses.

Having thus submitted to the public the opinions of some of the most learned commentators on this subject, I may be allowed to disclaim the notion, that this part of the prophecy was *fulfilled* in that event. I merely point out the resemblance as too strong to be accidental; believing that "it may please an overruling Providence so to dispose and order events, that the calamities and afflictions of the church may in some measure run parallel one to another, and all the efforts of that tyrannical and persecuting power, called the beast, may be the *types* and figures of his last and greatest effort against the witnesses *;" which effort, in the opinion of the majority of the most esteemed commentators, has not been yet made †.

* Bishop Newton, p. 146.

† *e. g.* Mede, p. 483. Vitringa, p. 502. Bishop Newton, 146. Dean Woodhouse, p. 303.

The preceding considerations add great importance to the following history, and I trust, therefore, that their introduction will be deemed neither presumptuous nor irrelevant.

The history itself, as Henry Arnaud tells us, was compiled from notes taken, as the facts occurred, by different persons engaged in them.

Henry Arnaud received a colonel's commission from William and Mary, which is still preserved in the valleys: hence his signature to his dedication to Queen Anne. He ended his days, at the age of eighty, at Schonberg, in the duchy of Wirtemberg, not being permitted by his natural prince to remain on his native soil. In one copy which I have seen of the Glorieuse Rentrée, there is a dedication to the Duke of Wirtemberg; but it has no peculiar interest requiring its insertion in this volume. In the history, a negligence in the arrangement of the materials has been the source of much confusion, which I have endeavoured to remedy by occasional transpositions, and by the omission of parts unconnected with the rest, and uninteresting in themselves. As the relation of minute details is liable to intricacy, I have divided the narrative into chapters, containing periods di-

stinguished by the character or unity of the events contained in them. A compendium of the history of the Vaudois previous to the time of Henry Arnaud, and some subsequent account of them, have been thought to be proper, if not necessary, appendages, and are therefore given. The sketches were made on the different spots represented by them, and I pledge myself to their fidelity. The exquisite skill of the engraver will be estimated by all admirers of his art; and his kindness and attention to the subject demand my sincere and public thanks.

Deanery, Lichfield, 1827.

COMPENDIUM

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS

PREVIOUS TO THE TIME OF HENRI ARNAUD.

LEGER, the author of the most valuable history of his countrymen, the Vaudois, aptly observes, that to doubt a man's descent from Adam because he cannot point out his forefathers in each intervening generation, would not be more absurd than to deny the apostolical origin of a pure Christian church because its *separate* succession from the apostles cannot be established. And, surely, if any Christian community can show, that when corruptions first appeared in the church, they protested against them, and when engrafted on her, that they "came out from her and were separate," their claim to an apostolical succession cannot be disputed.

To this point, as relating to the Vaudois, Allix adapts Tertullian's definition of pure churches: "Nascentes ex matricibus apostolicis, deputantur ut soboles apostolicarum ecclesiarum," and asserts that "it is sufficient to make them (the Vaudois) deserve the name of apostolical, that they received the doctrine of the apostles as a pledge from the hand of their disciples, which they have preserved so *very tenderly* throughout the following ages."

Relying on this principle, neither the Vaudois nor their advocates have felt it necessary to trace their origin farther than to the time when they constituted part of the primitive flock so vigilantly watched and boldly guarded by the apostolic Claude, bishop of Turin, in the commencement of the ninth century.

It is indeed true, that prior to this period, nay, in the earliest stages of Christianity, heresies existed. The Gnostics, and their descendants the Manichæans, the Arians, Nestorians, and Iconolatræ, or worshippers of images, and many other sects known to us only by the writings of those who opposed them, defiled the church, and too frequently defended their opinions by the sword.

Their errors, however, with one exception *, did not prevail over true religion. They were exposed by the primitive fathers, rejected by various councils, and ultimately driven back among the eastern churches, where, for the most part, they had been begotten.

Those who will consult the first two chapters of Usher de Statu et Success. Eccles., Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History of the first eight centuries, and, above all, the first nine chapters of Allix on the Churches of Piemont, will admit the existence of a visible and sound church, especially in the north of Italy, to the end of the eighth century.

It was at this period, A. D. 792, that that relic of paganism, the worship of images, was first recorded as an article of Romish faith, by a council convened at Nice by Pope Adrian.

In vain did the council of Frankfort,—the authority of Charlemagne,—and the indignation of the British and German churches, oppose this idolatry. The mark was set on papacy, to be removed only with its fall.

The authority, spiritual and temporal, of the

* Iconolatria.

popes was daily increasing,—their belief in the carnal presence was defended,—the doctrine of purgatory was introduced,—simony was almost universal, and the state of the church altogether such as strictly to deserve Usher's quotation—

"In pejus ruere ac retro sublapsa referri *."

Against these increasing superstitions "the Divine Providence was pleased to provide a remedy, by means of Claude, bishop of Turin †."

The authors to whom I have referred prove, that, down to the time of this exemplary prelate, not only the heads of churches disclaiming the authority of the bishop of Rome, but also many of the most distinguished Romanists, energetically condemned the errors and vices which were sown and nurtured in this hot-bed of supremacy. Among the former Claude is pre-eminent; and as, on this account, the primitiveness of the Vaudois is deemed to be sufficiently proved by their successive adherence to his opinions, it is right that these should be made known to the public.

Claude was born in Spain, and becoming fa-

* From worse to worse, with backward course she falls.

† Allix.

mous on account of his talents, was patronised by Lewis the Meek. This prince, alarmed at the progress of Iconolatria in Italy, appointed him to the metropolitan see of Turin *.

He wrote three books upon Genesis, commentaries on St. Matthew, on the Epistles to the Galatians and the Ephesians, books on Exodus, on Leviticus, and on the Book of Ruth.

Of these works the Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians is alone printed. Manuscripts of his Commentary on St. Matthew are in England: those on the Epistles are in the possession of the monks of St. Germain.

In his work on the Epistle to the Galatians he every where asserts the equality of all the apostles with St. Peter, and maintains that Christ is the only head of the church.

He overthrows the doctrine of merits—anathematizes traditions—maintains that faith alone can save us, an opinion by which Luther excited such rage among the Romanists—holds the church to be liable to error—denies the efficacy of prayer for the departed—and, besides opposing

* This fact, with its peculiar cause, is related by Jonas of Orleans.

these particular errors of the church of Rome, severely reproaches her general superstition and idolatry.

His opinions with respect to the adoration of saints, images, and relics, are thus powerfully expressed. "We are not commanded to address ourselves to the creature for happiness, but to the Creator.

"Nor can a man become blessed because another is so, but by imitating the blessed in the means by which they became so."

He afterwards quotes the following passage from St. Augustin. "We owe no religious worship to those who have departed this life because they have lived religiously; we must honour them because they deserve to be imitated, but we must not worship them with an act of religion."

He thus defends himself against an adversary who had upbraided him as an Iconoclast, and as deficient in respect for the papal power. "I teach no new sect, but keep myself to the pure truth, preaching and publishing nothing but that: on the contrary, as far as in me lies, I oppose and would destroy all sects, schisms, superstitions, and heresies, and will ever do so, with the assistance of God, as far as I am able.

" For since it is expressly said, '*Thou shalt not make to thyself the resemblance of any thing that is in heaven above, or on the earth,*' &c., this is not alone to be understood of the images of strange gods, but also of celestial creatures.

" That which is deemed worthy of worship ought surely rather to be worshipped alive than as thou hast represented them, as the portraiture of beasts, or (which is yet more true) made of stone or wood, which have neither life, feeling, nor reason. If we may neither worship nor serve the works of God's hands, how much less may we worship the works of men's hands, and adore them in honour of those whose resemblances we say they are? If the image you worship is not God, wherefore dost thou bow to it; and wherefore, like a slave, dost thou bend thy body to pitiful shrines, and to the works of men's hands?

" But mark what the followers of this false religion and superstition do allege. They say, '*it is in commemoration and in honour of our Saviour that we serve, honour, and adore the cross.*' Such men are not pleased in our Saviour, but by that which was pleasing to the ungodly, viz., the reproach of his passion and the *token of his death.*

" They witness hereby that they perceive only

of him what the wicked saw and perceived of him, whether Jews or heathens: regardless of the apostle, when he saith, '*We know Jesus Christ no longer according to the flesh.*'

"God commands one thing; and these people do the contrary. God commands us to bear our cross, not to worship it: they worship it, but bear it neither corporally nor spiritually.

"All these things are ridiculous, rather to be lamented than commemorated; but we are forced to notice them when opposed to madmen.

"As for your reproaching me * that I hinder men from running in pilgrimage to Rome, I will demand of thyself, whether thou knowest that to go to Rome is an act of penitence? If, indeed, it be so, why then hast thou for so long a time damned so many souls whom thou hast kept up in thy monastery, and whom thou hast taken into it that they might there become penitent, obliging them to serve thee instead of sending

* Claude's antagonist was, according to Allix, Dungalus, a recluse of St. Denis; according to Leger, Theoderemus, an abbot, as appears by the title of a work by a third adversary, Jonas of Orleans. Leger appears to be the more correct, from Claude's allusion to the retention of persons in a monastery. Vide Leger, p. 138. Allix, p. 79. 84.

them to Rome,—if it be so that the way to be penitent be to go to Rome, and yet thou hast hindered them?"

The sentiments of this eminent prelate, on the supremacy of the pope, will be gathered from the following passages. "We well know that this sentence of the gospel is ill understood, '*Thou art Peter, and on this rock will I build my church; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven.*' Under pretext of which words, a coarse and ignorant people, destitute of all spiritual knowledge, put their trust in Rome for the attainment of everlasting life. Whereas the ministry belongs to all the true superintendants and pastors of the church, who perform it as long as they are in this world; and when they have paid the debt of nature, are succeeded by others of equal authority and power.

PROVINCIA DI TORINO

"Return, O ye blind, to your light; return to him who enlightens every man that cometh into the world. For all you, who keep not to this light *only*, walk in darkness and know not whither you go. For if God shall be believed when he promiseth, by how much the more when he sweareth? '*Though Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it, as I live, saith the Lord, they shall de-*

liver neither son nor daughter.' And it is to this end that he makes this declaration, viz., that none should put their trust in the merits or intercession of saints. Hear this, ye people without understanding! Ye fools, turn unto wisdom; yea, all ye who run to Rome, there to seek the intercession of an apostle.

"In the fifth place, you urge on me as a reproach, that the apostolical lord (as you are pleased to entitle the late pope Paschal) honoured me with this charge. But since *apostolicus dicitur quasi apostoli custos*, know thou that he only is apostolic who is the guardian of the doctrine of the apostles, not he who vaunteth himself that he is seated in the apostle's chair, and yet acquitteth himself not of the charge of an apostle; for the Lord saith that '*the scribes and pharisees sit in Moses' seat.*'"

Claude's opinions on the eucharist are quoted at large by Allix, and will be found as free from Romish taint as are those which have been now adduced.

The tone of indignant reprobation which we have seen displayed against some Romish errors does not, indeed, pervade his exposition of that sacrament: nor was there cause for it; for though

the doctrine of the carnal presence was then partially professed, it was not till twenty years after Claude had ceased to write, and, probably, after his death, that Paschasius embodied, as it were, and gave general circulation to this impious absurdity.

Nor let it be laid to the charge of this exemplary prelate that he did not oppose all the enormities which now pollute the practice of the church of Rome.

They did not all exist.

The secular power of the pontiffs was then insufficient, the spirit of the emperors too haughty, to permit the deposition of sovereigns, or the release of subjects from their allegiance. Their spiritual authority could not yet silence reason nor enforce ignorance. Indulgences, auricular confession, the celebration of mass, communion under one kind, and many other causes of the separation of the later reformers, were not *all* made articles of faith until the beginning of the fifteenth century *.

Enough, and it is hoped not too much, has

* What then becomes of the much boasted authority of tradition?

been said to show that Claude endeavoured to preserve the apostolic faith in his diocese, and, therefore, in the valleys, in the beginning of the ninth century; and his success has been attested by his adversaries, Jonas Aureliatensis and Dungalus.

I have made these extracts from the ninth chapter of Allix on the Churches of Piémont, or the twenty-first chapter of Leger's History of the Vaudois; to which I refer my readers for a fuller account of this admirable metropolitan.

We will now endeavour to pursue the succession of the Vaudois, as a primitive church, from the times of Claude to those when their persecutions by the church of Rome proclaimed at once her hostility, and their adherence, to pure Christianity.

This interval is so long that it may excite surprise. But it can be easily accounted for.

The attention of Rome was in the mean time fixed on objects more important to her selfish policy than the destruction of a pure, but unobtrusive, church. It was not until the middle of the eleventh century that Pope Nicholas II. prevailed on the metropolitan sees of Aquileia, Milan, and more especially Turin, entirely to

resign their independence, and thus established the spiritual supremacy of Rome in the west. Her pre-eminence in temporal concerns is of even later date. It remained for Gregory VII. to decree, among the famous Dictates, *that princes shall kiss his feet, and that he has the power to release subjects from their allegiance*—dictates quickly followed by the rebellion of subjects, and by wars in which the arms of the son against the father were excited and supported by the head of the Christian church.

Previously to this age, the election of the pontiff by the *people*, clergy, and bishops, was not valid until it was ratified by the emperors; nor was it until the beginning of the twelfth century, during the pontificate of Alexander III. that the right of election was confined to the cardinals.

Thus, while all the papal energies were required in a struggle with powerful bishops, and more powerful sovereigns, the remnant of true Christians was left in comparative peace and obscurity.

Short-sighted, indeed, was this policy of Rome, who, while she wasted herself in bringing under command temporal powers who now laugh to

scorn her secular degradation, overlooked the little church in the mountains which contained the seed of a mighty revolt from her spiritual supremacy, and complete exposure of the errors essential to it.

No sooner, however, was a spiritual and temporal supremacy obtained than it was directed against those who still remained to question its lawfulness, and to denounce the errors introduced and upheld by it.

In showing that such a remnant did exist, and especially in the valleys of Piémont, particular weight should be attached to the testimony of Romanists, who certainly would not have gratuitously conceded the uninterrupted antiquity of their opponents.

In truth, the fable of some of the antagonists of the Vaudois, that they originated with Waldo, is obviously absurd. For can it be believed, that within forty years this excellent man of Lyons, without any peculiar assistance, could have so extended his doctrine, that his disciples, according to their opponents, should abound all over France, and in Spain, Britain, Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, and, in fact, throughout Europe, in such a quantity that, according to Mezeray,

sixty thousand were, in the year 1207, slain at Beziers * alone, by an army under the personal directions of the legate Milo? Sir Samuel Morland justly remarks on this point, that any lapse of time between Claude and Waldo "would hinder the continual succession of these churches no more than the sun or moon cease to be when their light is eclipsed by the interposition of other bodies, or no more than the Rhone or the Garonne lose their continual current because for

* A town in Languedoc, near the Mediterranean. The following account of this massacre is extracted from Sismondi's History of the Crusades against the Albigenses, condensely translated into English, with a valuable introduction by the translator. London, 1826. "The fixed population of Beziers did not, perhaps, exceed 15,000 persons; but all the inhabitants of the country and of the castles, which had not been judged capable of defence, had taken refuge in this city, which was regarded as exceedingly strong; and even those who had remained to guard the strong castles had, for the most part, sent their wives and children to Beziers. This whole multitude, at the moment when the crusaders became masters of the gates, took refuge in the churches—the great cathedral of St. Nicaise contained the greater number—the canons, clothed with their clerical habits, surrounded the altar, and sounded the bells, as if to express their prayers to the assailants; but these supplications of brass were as little heard as those of the human voice. The bells ceased not to sound till, of that immense multitude, the last had been mas-

some time they run under ground and appear not."

Thanks be, however, to the Romanists themselves that, in their very zeal to bring this church into disrepute, they have guided us through the mist which would otherwise have partially enveloped the course of its succession.

We will commence with an authority infallible in the eyes of papists.

Pope Alexander III., presiding over a synod at Tours, (A. D. 1167), pronounces the doctrine of the Vaudois to be a damnable heresy of long continuance—quæ jamdudum emersit.

In the following century we find an Italian inquisitor, Reinerus Sacco, deploring the danger to his church from this heresy, because it is more ancient than any other, more general, and because those who profess it are both moral and pious: *quia cum omnes aliæ sectæ immanitate*

sacred. Neither were those spared who had sought an asylum in the other churches: 7000 dead bodies were counted in that of the Magdalen alone. When the crusaders had massacred the last living creature in Beziers, and had pillaged the houses of all they thought worth carrying off, they set fire to the city in every part at once, and reduced it to a vast funeral pile. Not a house remained standing; not one human being alive!"

blasphemiarum in Deum, audientibus horrorem inducant, hæc magnam habet speciem pietatis, eo quod coram hominibus juste vivunt, et bene omnia de Deo credunt, et omnes articulos qui in symbolo continentur observant; solummodo Romanam ecclesiam blasphemant *.

In the same century, and of the same name with the Italian inquisitor, but in another person, and therefore another testimony (as shown by Usher), a German Romanist supports the opinion of his namesake in similar terms. Both date the origin of the Vaudois from Sylvester, *or even the apostles.*

During the following ages the Romanists still continue to mark the antiquity of the Vallensian heresy. A synod at La Vaux, excites the pope to proceed with the extermination of this most ancient sect, *pestis hæretica antiquitus seminata, quæ in immensum succrevit jamdudum et ab antiquis temporibus* †.

* "While all other sects disgust the public by their gross blasphemies against God, this, on the other hand, has a great appearance of piety. For those who belong to it live justly among men; have a sound doctrine in all points respecting God, and believe in all the articles of the Apostles' Creed: but they blaspheme the Romish church."

† "An heretical pest, generated in olden times, of enormous growth and great antiquity."

Claude Seyssel, Archbishop of Turin, in a book written by him against the Vaudois, about the year 1547, dates their origin from one Leo, in the time of Constantine the Great; and in the same century, Cassini, a Franciscan, writing also against this church, thus expresses himself: "The errors of the Vaudois consist in their denial that the Romish is the holy mother church, and in their refusal to obey her traditions. *In other points they recognise the church of Christ; and, for my part, I cannot deny that they have always been members of his church.*"

Belvedere, principal missionary to the valleys, A. D. 1630, reports, officially, that neither he, nor his companions, can convert a single Vaudois to his church; and declares, as an apology, that the heresy has taken too deep root in the valleys, which have ever been inhabited by heretics, *sempre ed in ogni tempo hanno havuto heretici.*

Among the celebrated historians of the Romish persuasion, we find Pilichdorf, Popeliniere, Genebrard, and De Thou, who all ascribe to the Vaudois the same continuance in their separate faith.

To this list of Romish testimony, though insignificant in comparison to those in Usher and

Leger*, only one authority shall be added, but that so decisive, that it would alone dispose of the question. Marcus Aurelius Rorenco, prior of St. Roc, considered by his church to be one of her most able instruments in suppressing the doctrine of the Vaudois, published, in 1632, a work at Turin, entitled *Narratione dell' Introduttione delle Heresie nelle Valle.* In this he affirms that Claude's heresy (we have seen of what nature) continued during the ninth and tenth centuries in the valleys of Piémont. In the eleventh century we find it preserved by Peter de Bruys, Henri, Arnauld, and Waldo, who

* In these two authors, or in Allix on the churches of Piémont, will be found every ancient authority quoted by me without a note of reference.

The sixth, eighth, and tenth chapters of Usher de Stat. et Suc. Eccles., and the twenty-fifth chapter and those following to the twenty-ninth of Leger, may be referred to by such as wish to recur to the highest authorities. To the English reader desirous of farther information on this subject, I would recommend Allix's book, lately re-published at Oxford; Mr. Jones's very able and copious History of the Waldenses, 2d edition, London; and an historical defence, &c. by Jean Peyran, edited by the Rev. T. Sims, who has attached to it much valuable matter of his own. The worth of Mr. Gilly's narrative is shown by its appearance in a fourth edition.

(as will shortly appear) derived their doctrine from the valleys; and hence the various names applied at different times by Romanists to the Vallensian church; *e. g.* Petrobrusians, Henricians, Arnoldists, &c. &c.

Among the most illustrious divines of our own faith, who have vindicated the primitive succession of the Vaudois, are Theo. Beza, Sleidan, Illyricus, Usher, Mede, Vitringa, Mosheim, Drelincourt, and Archbishop Wake; and in our own time, the eminently learned prelate to whom this little work is dedicated.

There are scarcely any other records by which light can be thrown on the immediate history of the valleys of Piémont, from the commencement of the eleventh to the end of the fourteenth century.

Leger, indeed, presumes that they were the principal objects of a persecution by Innocent III. about 1198, the year of that pontiff's death. This is the more probable, since the rules, by which the inquisitors were then directed, were drawn up at Embrun, at that time an archiepiscopal see, and communicating with the valleys by the passes of La Croix and L'Abries. They appear also to have been affected by the mea-

sures adopted by a synod held at Avignon, A. D. 1228, against those who had then in considerable numbers throughout the south of France attached themselves to their purer faith.

In 1332 a bull, dated at the same city, was issued by John XXII. expressly against the Vaudois in the valleys; and another, in 1338, by Clement VII. No extreme measures, however, appear to have followed. And as, till the eleventh century, it has been shown that the employment of the pontiffs, in the subjugation of princes, protected the Vaudois from their notice, so did the uncertain tenure of the territory of Turin by the house of Savoy till the fifteenth century, save them for a time from the rigorous execution of the papal decrees.

It may seem, indeed, as though the parent tree was thus especially guarded by Providence for a season, till its scions had taken root so extensively that no human power should be equal to eradicate them.

Among these scions are to be classed, according to Usher, the Albigenses; in support of which opinion the learned prelate produces, in addition to many other authorities, those of Popliniere, Pilichdorf, and Dé Thou. These writers

state, as an historical fact, that the Albigenses owe their origin to the Vaudois.

The apostate and traitor, Persons, or Parsonius, in spite of his zeal to separate these churches, in order to establish his charge of Manichæism on the Albigenses, a charge to which their identity in doctrine with the Vaudois would, he knew, be fatal, could not conceal the truth, but designates the Albigenses as *prima et præcipua Waldensium propago :* "the first and most considerable offspring of the Waldenses."

It would be uncandid to withhold a passage in Allix's work on the Albigenses which appears to militate against this opinion. "But it is not true (he says) that the Waldenses ever carried their faith into these countries (the south-west of France): they found it there already established, and joined themselves to those who defended the same before any of Waldo's disciples came thither to seek refuge for themselves." This may be conceded, as indeed it must be; and yet the origin of the Albigenses from the Vaudois be maintained.

Allix evidently here denotes the disciples of Waldo, not the Vaudois of the valleys of Piémont, under the term Waldenses, the indiscri-

minate use of which with the more ancient one of Vallenses, has in this, as in many other instances, created ambiguity. In the same work, this author has expressly stated, "as an acknowledged truth, that the Valdenses of Dauphiné were a colony from those of Piémont:" and be it remembered, that Lyons, the birth-place of Waldo, is situated on the confines of Dauphiné. And in another passage he informs us, that those authors who have written with any degree of honesty, call the Albigenses Waldenses, because they hold the same faith and opinions. He quotes Ribera and Gretser, the jesuits, with Cardinal Hosius and Andrew Farin, as acknowledging the Waldenses and Albigenses *to be the same, and differing only in their names.*

It is well known that Peter de Bruys and his disciple Henri, were celebrated preachers among the Albigenses before the time of Waldo, and their success is fully attested by St. Bernard. Arnauld and Esperon also preceded this famous preacher of Lyons. But these, if not natives of the valleys, had all been resident there as pastors or barbes*, as were also the most

* The original word means uncle, and was transferred, as a title of respect, to the pastors, in the same manner as papa

celebrated of the subsequent supporters of the same doctrine; *e. g.* Bartholomew, first famous at Carcassone, and afterwards in Hungary, Dalmatia, &c., whom Matthew Paris styles the bishop or pope of those who declined communion with Rome*.

Reynerius mentions two barbes as famous in Italy, who had already been so in the valleys. Lollard (inserted by Leger and others in their list of Vaudois pastors) having preached in Languedoc, Guienne, and Germany, extended his doctrine to our own country, to be preserved in it for ever through Wickliffe and his followers. This is the more evident from the denomination of our early reformers, who were called Lollards, rather than Wickliffites†. The Vallensian origin of this reformer's doctrine is attested also by T. Walden‡, Cardinal Bellarmine §, Alphonsus de Castro‖, and Popeliniere¶. The last mentioned

or father to the bishops, to all of whom it was common in the earlier ages.

* Leger, Sir S. Morland, Perrin, and Milner.

† Bishop Newton.

‡ T. Wal. vol. vi. Tit. xii. c. 10. Perrin, book i. c. 8.

§ Vol. ii. book i, c. 26.

‖ Con. Heresias, book vi. p. 99. Perrin.

¶ Hist. book i.

author traces it from the valleys of Piémont, through Languedoc (the country of the Albigenses), to the neighbouring territory of Guienne, at that time in the possession of the English, among whom, he says, it was transferred, from hand to hand, to Wickliffe. In this celebrated personage were united all the qualities necessary for the development and propagation of principles as subversive of existing prejudices and interests, as consonant with genuine Christianity. He possessed a vast understanding, invincible courage, and indefatigable zeal. The ground, indeed, had been partially prepared for him by Grosted*, bishop, in the preceding century, of the diocese in which Wickliffe resided†. For this prelate had the energy to condemn many Romish practices, to refuse the installation of some Italians to benefices illegally conferred on them by the pope, and effectually to

* Milner, in his History of the Church, has given a most interesting account of this prelate. This author has devoted the three first chapters on the thirteenth century to an account of the Vallensian church, which would have been still more valuable had he been acquainted with Leger's work.

* Wickliffe was rector of Lutterworth, in the diocese of Lincoln.

positions of their faith preserved in the original at Cambridge *. It is attested also by the fact, mentioned by Reinerius, that the Bohemian and other German separatists from Rome were in the habit of sending their clergy to be instructed by the Vallensian bishops in Lombardy: thus conceding to the Vaudois the honourable distinction of preserving the standard of pure religion †.

* Many MSS. illustrative of the faith, discipline, &c. of the Vallensian church, were deposited in the public library at Cambridge by Sir Samuel Morland.

† After the preceding remarks had been sent to the printer, my attention was guided to Limborch's History of the Inquisition, as containing a charge of Manichæism against the Vaudois themselves.

I cannot find it. But, on the contrary, I find this historian, after accusing the Albigenses of this error and of others, thus expressing himself: *But these opinions of the Albigenses are not one of them ascribed to the Valdenses.* By this assumed difference he endeavours to prove that they are two distinct sects.

Throughout this (the eighth) chapter of the first book, the facts on which Limborch reasons are supported only by the *sentences of the inquisition*, grounded, as they are known to be, on the confessions of the accused. The last chapter of the fourth book of the same work will show the nature of this authority.

" An eleventh (says Limborch), and that not the least instance of injustice practised in the tribunal of the inquisition,

Some partial persecutions of these different branches, under various names, in Bohemia, Dalmatia, Germany, Holland, England, &c.

is their readiness to put persons to the torture, &c. But as to secret crimes, to be ready to inflict the torture is the highest injustice, and necessarily subjects many innocent persons to the most grievous punishment; whilst, being unable to resist the cruelty of their torments, they had rather make themselves guilty *by a false confession of a crime they never so much as thought of*, to put an immediate end to their most cruel punishments, than endure any longer those most dreadful torments." Shortly afterwards he says, "If any one considers these things, he will find no sanctity in the court of the inquisition, but he must acknowledge, that in the *whole method* of proceeding there is nothing but injustice, fraud, imposture, and the most accursed hypocrisy."

He also cites a passage from De Thou to enforce the belief of the dishonest proceedings of this court, stating, "that the inquisitors could extract such confessions as they desired." Yet on these proceedings has Limborch founded a charge of heresy against a large and persecuted Christian community. His separation of the Vaudois and Albigenses into two sects, rests on the same ground.

The same learned writer afterwards briefly asserts, that there is a close resemblance between the Vaudois and the Memnonites of his day. He does not inform us which of the many sects of Memnonites he alludes to, nor on what points he perceives the resemblance.

According to Dr. Mosheim and his learned editor, the following tenets are common to the Memnonites of every description.

command interest rather as indications of the character of the persecuting and persecuted, than from their extent or duration.

Not so the crusades against the Albigenses in the thirteenth century, than which no ope-

1. *They admit none to the sacrament of baptism but persons in full use of their reason.*

Ans. The Vaudois display remarkable anxiety for the early baptism of infants; and the practice is enjoined in some of their confessions of faith.

2. *The Memnonites neither admit civil rulers into their communion, nor allow any of their members to perform the offices of magistracy.*

Ans. The Vaudois appear, in almost all their treaties with their sovereigns, to have stipulated for free admission to public offices throughout their valleys. While they formed part of the French empire, the syndics, or local magistrates, were universally Vaudois.

3. *The Memnonites deny the lawfulness of repelling force by force; and consider war in all its shapes as unchristian and unjust.*

Ans. The following history.

4. *The Memnonites refuse to confirm their testimony by oath.*

Ans. The following exposition of the third commandment is found in one of the manuscripts at Cambridge already mentioned. "This commandment forbids perjury by lying, and vain or habitual swearing. The appeal to God implies God's knowledge of the truth; and the oath serves to confirm it in doubtful cases; for the oath is an act of worship."

rations more prodigal of effort or of human life, are recorded in the history of that age*.

Far, however, from the true light being thus extinguished, we find it, in the next century, shining with increased splendour (a splendour never again to be diminished) in the persons of Wickliffe, Huss, and Jerome of Prague; and before the latter had triumphed in the flames, which were to be a beacon in the great work of the Reformation, the parent church in the mountains was doomed to enter on its course of trials as unparalleled in severity and protraction as the sufferers are in resignation and fortitude.

As the princes of Savoy are the prominent actors in the dreadful scenes which compose the history of the Vaudois, during the three succeeding centuries, the circumstances under which they acquired their ill-fated dominion over this part of their subjects may not be unacceptable to my readers.

The valleys were originally part of the marquisate of Susa, or of the duchy of Turin, both of them fiefs of the empire, vested, in the early

* Vide Sismondi's History of the Crusades against the Albigenses.

part of the eleventh century, in the person of Adelaide, widow of Herman, Duke of Suabia *. About the year 1033 this princess was married to Oddon, Count of Savoy and Maurienne. After her decease, in 1091, her grandson, Humbert II. of Savoy, claimed the possession of her territories. This claim was constantly disputed by other issue of Adelaide, and the metropolitans of Turin, down to the year 1252; when the right was established by a formal grant of these, with many other fiefs, from the Emperor William, Count of Holland, in favour of Thomas II. descendant of Oddon †.

Notwithstanding this grant, the Counts of Savoy were, until the beginning of the fifteenth century, continually engaged in struggles to preserve this inheritance, especially against the Marquesses of Montserrat.

About this time occurred the first persecution

* Guichenon Histoire Genealogique de la Maison royale de Savoy, vol. i. p. 197, et seq. This work was compiled at the desire of some members of the house of Savoy, to whom its circulation was confined. It is accordingly extremely rare. I am indebted for reference to it, and many other valuable books, to Mr. Canon Newling.

† Guichenon, vol. iii. p. 93.

of the Vaudois of which their historians have given any detailed account. The inhabitants in the valley of Prajelas were furiously attacked in the depth of winter, and such as escaped the general massacre, became victims to the inclemency of the weather on the lofty mountains to which they fled. Sir Samuel Morland mentions that in one morning eighty mothers, with their children, were found frozen on the snow.

In the year 1423, Amé VIII., in the spirit of papacy which so possessed his progeny, united himself to a crusade, published by the pope against the Bohemian branch of the Vaudois church. Guichenon allows the army of the crusaders to have been 200,000 strong, commanded in person by the Emperor Sigismond. It was totally defeated by the Bohemians, then termed Hussites. It is well worthy of remark that this Duke of Savoy, a secular prince, was elected pope by the council of Basle, by a decree dated November 14, 1439, and actually filled the papal chair and fulfilled its functions, under the name of Felix V., for nine years and a half, when he resigned in favour of Nicolas V *.

* Guichenon, vol. i. 484 et seq.

A system of partial persecution was now adopted. Individuals peculiarly obnoxious to the inquisitors at Turin, on account of pre-eminent virtue or talent, were seized, and consigned to perpetual imprisonment, or to the stake. But as the sufferings and fortitude of individuals seemed rather to excite emulation than terror, Pope Innocent VIII. resolved to suppress the offensive doctrine by the annihilation of those who professed it. To this end, by a bull, issued A. D. 1487, denouncing the Vaudois as heretics, he calls on all authorities, spiritual and temporal, to unite in their extermination; threatens with extreme vengeance such as refuse to be parties to the crusade; promises remission of sins to those who engage in it; and releases every one from all contracts with the offenders *.

Under the influence of these stimulants, 18,000 regular troops, with a cloud of undisciplined followers, burst from every quarter on the valleys. Many months were devoted to the work of destruction; till, at last, Philip VII., repenting of the slaughter of his most industrious subjects,

* This bull is preserved in the public library at Cambridge.

weary of its inefficacy as a mode of conversion, and alarmed at some symptoms of well organized resistance, received the Vaudois into his favour, on condition of some submissions to his mere temporal authority, which were readily conceded by their affectionate loyalty.

As an instance of the extravagant falsehoods circulated about these simple mountaineers, it may be mentioned that Philip, on receiving their deputation of allegiance, required that some of their children should be produced, to ascertain the truth of a report, that they were born with only one eye in the centre of the forehead *.

The short period of repose thus granted to the inhabitants of the valleys, afforded them an opportunity of offering refuge to their neighbouring brethren of the marquisate of Saluces (not then subject to the house of Savoy), who had been ordered, on pain of death, either to resign their faith or at a moment's warning to abandon their ancient possessions.

In 1534, they were again unexpectedly attacked by the order of Charles, then Duke of Savoy; but the force employed on this occasion

* Leger, l. ii. p. 26.

was too small, and the defence of the Vaudois too brave, to permit the massacre to extend beyond those who were treacherously surprised.

Another experiment was now made, less formidable in appearance, but more effectual in the result. Small bands were secretly stationed on all the outskirts of their territory; and every Vaudois incautiously approaching was seized and carried off: and happy was he who escaped protracted torture by a speedy death.

In 1536 the chances of war produced a change of masters to the Vaudois, but no alleviation of their miseries.

Francis I. of France, having made himself master of Piémont, replied to an humble supplication from them for toleration, "Qu'il ne faisoit pas bruler les heretiques en France pour les supporter parmy les Alpes."

In 1560, Emanuel Philibert, being restored to his Piémontese territories, ordered a powerful army, under the command of the Count de la Trinité, to the devastation of the valleys. Taught by experience, that in open resistance alone was any chance of escape, and how to offer it most effectually, the Vaudois concealed the helpless in caverns, while the effective occupied and bar-

ricaded those spots which nature had rendered most defensible. The count found every forest an ambush, and every rock a fort; while all his movements were discovered by watches on the heights. Mortified and enraged by continual failures, he applied for reinforcements; but every fresh contest only increased his disgrace and the confidence of the Vaudois, till an Alpine winter compelled a suspension of hostilities.

No sooner, however, had the frost and snow withdrawn their protection from this devoted land, than the count resumed operations, aided by the presence of ten companies and several troops of French veterans. In the face of this army, the Vaudois stormed and carried a newly-built fort at Villars. To revenge this insult, the count, on the following day, concentrated his force, and soon appeared in the valley of Angrogna at the head of 8000 picked men, determined to expel the Vaudois from the Pradel-Tor, a small circular plain in the heart of the mountains, whence they had never yet been dislodged.

For four successive days charge followed charge, with no other intermission than the time occupied in relieving the defeated columns by

fresh troops from the rear. Having lost 400 privates, eight captains, and two colonels, left on the field, in addition to the wounded and those who had been interred, the count was forced to fall back on La Tour. His obstinacy led him to make a second and more disastrous attempt. The assailants, on this occasion, were Spaniards, who, finding the contest as fruitless and destructive as the former, imputed some fatality to the scene of action, and from a superstitious panic proceeded to open mutiny.

Taking advantage of the consequent confusion, the Vaudois, in their turn, became assailants, and the rout of the enemy was immediate. The victors pursued the fugitives through the rude and narrow valley of Angrogna, where the torrent and the precipice proved almost as fatal as the sword *.

The Duke of Savoy seems now to have perceived, that he was gratifying the inquisitors to the ruin of his army and his treasury. His duchess, Marguerite, offered to be mediatrix;

* For an account of these events see Leger, p. 33 et seq. He produces Mons. D'Aubigni, Hist. Univ. c. 9, in support of his statement. See also Sir Samuel Morland, p. 235.

and terms of peace, with conditions highly favourable to liberty of conscience, were proposed to the Vaudois, and accepted.

This treaty gave to the Vaudois free exercise of their religion in their own valleys, and denounced punishment on any attempt to disturb them in it. It also granted to them unrestrained communication with his royal highness's dominions, and liberty to reside in any part of them.

Yet in spite of these promises, ratified by all the forms of international law, four years scarcely elapsed before the publication of an edict from the same prince, ordering, "that all who did not within ten days pledge themselves, in the presence of a magistrate, to attend on mass, should, within two months, expatriate themselves."

The execution of this edict was arrested by the spirited interference of some of the German protestant princes, especially the Duke of Saxony and the Elector Palatine.

Not a year now passed without practical symptoms of the hatred borne to the Vaudois by their Romish governors. The limits in which their existence was permitted were continually retrenched; sudden attacks by their neighbours,

for the sake of plunder, were authorised; large numbers were thrown into prison; the goods of many were confiscated; and on the exchange, with Henri Quatre, of Gex * and la Bresse † for the Marquisate of Saluce ‡, the Vaudois were extirpated, root and branch, by Charles Emanuel of Savoy, from this newly acquired territory.

About this time convents were established in the valleys, and the protestant schools and colleges were suppressed. The inhabitants were forbidden, under severe penalties, to send their children to foreign countries for education; and the abduction of males under twelve, and of females under fourteen years of age, for the purpose of conversion, was sanctioned by law.

In 1655 appeared the "bloody order of Gastaldo," so named from its consequences. In vain did the Vaudois, by every art of supplication to the different members of the government, endeavour to avert the impending storm. In the depth of winter, more than a thousand families were driven from their homes and properties to

* Near Geneva.

† Chief place in the department of Aix.

‡ A district bordering on the valleys.

the shelterless recesses of Alpine heights. Had this persecution ended here, humanity would yet have been saved from an indelible stain. The Marquess of Pianessa entered the valleys at the head of 15,000 men. Aware of the desperate resistance he must encounter if the Vaudois should flee and unite in the mountains, he feigned a wish for conciliation, and invited deputies to confer on the necessary terms.

After treating them with great kindness he promised a suspension of hostile measures, if the Vaudois would receive, as a token of obedience, some companies in the different villages. They complied; the consequent massacre is too horrible for detailed narration. Some notion of it may be conceived from the indignation expressed at it by all the protestant powers, and more especially from the tone of Sir Samuel Morland, the British ambassador, on this occasion, when he personally addressed the Duke of Savoy, in the presence of Madame Royale *.

* Daughter of Henri Quatre, married to Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, A. D. 1619. This prince dying in 1637, Madame Royale became regent over his dominions until 1648, when her son, Charles Emanuel II., assumed the reins of government.—Guichenon Histoire Genealogique, &c.

After a partial allusion to the cruelties * he was sent by the Protector to complain of, he proceeds:

"Why should I mention more?—though I could enumerate infinitely more, did not my mind altogether revolt from them. If all the tyrants of all times and ages were alive again, (I speak without offence to your royal highness, as convinced that none of these things are to be attributed to your highness), they would doubtless be ashamed to find, that nothing barbarous, nor inhuman, in comparison of these deeds, had

* The following is a copy of part of the original speech. "Audivit enim Protector (quod nemo celsitudinis vestræ regalis voluntate factum esse dixerit) miserrimos illos, partim ab vestris copiis esse crudeliter occisos, partim vi expulsos, domo-que patriâ-que exturbatos, adeo-que sine lare, sine tecto, inopes, omnique ope destitutos, per asperrima loca atque inhospita, montes-que nivibus coopertos, cum suis conjugibus ac liberis vagari. Quid enim per hosce dies, quod genus crudelitatis inausum illis militibus, aut præteritum fuit? Fumantia, passim tecta, et laceri artus, et cruenta humus! Virgines, post stupra, differto lapillis ac ruderibus utero, misere efflarunt animas! Centenarii nonnulli senes effætâ ætate ac morbo clinici, in lectulis combusti? Infantum alii saxis allisi, alii jugulati, quorum cerebrum ab interfectoribus, immanitate plusquam Cyclopeâ, coctum ac devoratum. Quid plura?" &c.

ever been invented by them. In the mean time the angels are stricken with horror! Men are dizzy with amazement! Heaven itself appears astonished by the cries of the dying, and the very earth to blush with the gore of so many innocent persons! Avenge not thyself, O God! for this mighty wickedness, this parricidal slaughter. Let thy blood, O Christ! wash out this blood."

Surely England would not have countenanced such language from her representative to a sovereign and an ally, nor would the latter have tolerated it, unless it had been well merited *.

We have even Romish testimony to these

* Milton's beautiful sonnet on the occasion of this massacre, though generally known, may be properly inserted.

Avenge, O Lord! thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold:
E'en them who kept thy faith so pure of old,
When all our fathers worshipp'd stocks and stones,
Forget not: in thy book record their groans,
Slain by the bloody Piémontese, that roll'd
Mother and infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To Heaven. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
On all the Italian plains, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
An hundred fold, who, having learnt thy way,
Early may fly the Babylonian woe.

iniquities, as will be seen from the following extracts from a work entitled *Abregé de l'Histoire de ce Siecle de Fer* *, written, as Leger informs us, by a Romanist. I insert them with peculiar satisfaction, as they prove that Romanism did not even in those days necessarily engender a spirit of persecution in all those who professed it.

" I hold in abhorrence (says this Romish author) all enmities on account of difference in religion, and all those who by the violence of their prejudices disturb the public repose.

" Those who love God with all their souls do not foment hatreds, nor delight in carnage.

" Joshua, in the Old Testament, was conducted in his bloody executions by the God of armies; we in the present day must listen to and obey the same God of peace and mercy, otherwise we cannot be his disciples. Those who in the blindness of their zeal would follow the example of Joshua, reject the *new* covenant.

" The persecutions of the Irish †, and the Vaudois who inhabit some valleys under the Duke of Savoy, appear to result from the hatred I have mentioned.

* Published at Brussels, A. D. 1660.

† The massacre of the Protestants in Ireland, A. D. 1641.

" The cross of the Vaudois remained fixed only for five or six months, when it was pulled down under the influence of powerful intercessions, menaces, and arms. In the beginning of 1655 a terrible order was issued that they and their families should quit, within a few days, their native valleys.

" The only alternatives were conversion to the Roman catholic apostolic faith, or the sale of their inheritance to those professing it.

" This order compelled a journey, in the depth of winter, over high mountains and through deep snow, the hardships of which might have moved the rocks to compassion—a feeling foreign to the hearts of those who were to enforce the order.

" Robbers, secretly instigated, plundered the houses, and thus compelled the exiles to return and defend their property while waiting for the effect of their remonstrances.

" Those who returned were termed rebellious, and were surprised by a Piémontese army, commanded by the Marquess of Pianessa, and five French regiments under the Count de Quinsey. Four thousand victims suffered death under cruelties too horrible to be heard. I will not

speak of the feelings of those who saw them. Ah! great God! if thy justice were not checked by mercy, this age would not have run half its career. The eye could see in these valleys nothing but flames; the ear heard only pitiable cries and their lamentable echoes.

"The Vaudois being driven in this manner from the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogna, the horrible process was repeated in that of St. Martin.

"This carnage drove to arms those who found no refuge in humility or supplications. Despair provides weapons in abundance. Four hundred Vaudois descended to St. Secondo, cut to pieces 150 soldiers, burnt several places, &c. &c.

"The news of these commotions alarmed all the neighbouring protestants, who wrote to the protector and the States General.

"The English, when informed of these massacres, were so moved with compassion for their *elder brethren* (*freres ainés*), that they implored the protector seriously to interfere *.

"In the meantime the Vaudois were in constant

* He here mentions the interference of Cromwell, as already stated.

conflict with the Savoyards, burning their towns, as their own had been burnt, and giving as little quarter as they had received.

"All protestants had at heart the peaceful re-establishment of the Vaudois. For when they want to prove the antiquity of their doctrine, they refer to that of the Vaudois, *in the pure preservation of which their own is necessarily involved.*"

The remonstrances alluded to, aided by the destructive partisan warfare by which his troops were harassed, induced the Duke of Savoy to propose peace to the Vaudois.

Four ambassadors of the protestant cantons offered to be mediators, but the only person to whom his Royal Highness would trust this office was the King of France, represented by his ambassador Mons. Servient. Deputies were accordingly appointed by the duke and by the Vaudois to meet Mons. Servient at Pignerol. The Swiss ambassadors were invited to witness the conference; but the Baron Gresy, a person of great influence with their nation, received private orders to attach himself to them for the purpose of diverting their attention from the real nature of the intended measures. He per-

formed this office so adroitly as to prevail on them (with the exception of one who protested against the proceedings) to sign their approval to a treaty which was well described by Cromwell as "a more concealed course of hostility under the name of peace *."

Guichenon, the servile historian of the house of Savoy, appears rather to triumph in the success of this perfidy than to attempt to conceal it, and avows that there was a secret understanding between the duke and Mons. Servient on the subject of the fort of La Tour. The Vaudois and their defenders were led to expect that this fort would be destroyed, and it was so; but it was replaced by one stronger and better situated.

Guichenon mentions the general disgust created by the treaty among the reformed governments †. "The cantons of Switzerland (he says), Geneva, Holland, England, and the Protestants in France, denounced it as infamous and shameful.

"Thus, however, ceased the troubles in the

* In a letter to the King of France, dated May 26, 1658. —Morland, p. 700.

† P. 1017.

Valleys; insignificant in their commencement, but eventually producing the most extraordinary sensation among the heretics in all parts of Europe.

"So deep an interest was perhaps never displayed on any other occasion, neither as to the number of potentates partaking it, nor as to the vast sums contributed to foment the disturbance." *To relieve the miserable Vaudois* is the more proper reading.

Cromwell's indignation, on discovering the deceit, was expressed in decided terms, not only to the court of Turin, but to the kings of France, Sweden, and Denmark, and especially to the protestant cantons. He warned the latter to be watchful lest the anti-protestant spirit displayed against the Vaudois should extend its violence to themselves *. Nor was this warning unjustified. For in the year after the treaty of Pigneroll, a difference having arisen between the protestant and Romish cantons, the Duke of Savoy added two regiments to his force in the Chablais, and ordered the Marquis de Lullins, governor of that province, to be in

* The whole of this correspondence is contained in Morland's work.

readiness, in case of hostilities, to take the field against the protestants *.

The death of Cromwell deprived the Vaudois, if not of their sincerest friend, at least of their most powerful intercessor. He had sanctioned a collection for them by brief in this country, and contributed from his own purse 2000*l.*; the whole amounted to 38,241*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*, of which, by the latest account rendered by Sir Samuel Morland, the chief commissioner, there remained 16,333*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* in the treasurer's hands in the year 1658, which has never been accounted for. The reader will observe, that this extensive sympathy was the result of an official examination by different ambassadors into the merits of the case.

The condition of the Vaudois after this persecution cannot be better described than in Sir Samuel Morland's words at the conclusion of his work. "It is my unhappiness to leave them where I found them, *among the potsherds with sackcloth and ashes spread under them.* To this very day they labour under most heavy burthens, which are laid on their shoulders by those rigid

* Guichenon, p. 1019.

taskmasters of the church of Rome. To this very day do the enemies of the truth *plough and make long furrows upon their backs*, by robbing them of their goods and estates; by banishing their ministers, who are the shepherds of the flock, that the wolves may the better come in and devour them; by ravishing their young women and maidens; by murdering many innocent souls; by cruel mockings and revilings; by continual menaces of another massacre—what shall I say? Those very valleys which they inhabit are no other than a prison or dungeon, to which the fort of La Tour serves as a door. To all this I must add that, notwithstanding those large supplies which have been sent them from England or foreign states, yet so great is the number of hungry creatures, and so grievous the oppressions of their popish enemies, who lay in wait to bereave them of whatsoever is given them, and snatch at every morsel of meat that goes into their mouths, that verily ever and anon they are ready to eat their flesh for want of bread. The tongue of the suckling cleaves to the roof of his mouth, and the young children ask bread and no man gives it to them. The young and the old lie on the

ground in the streets. Their miseries are more sad and grievous than words can express—they are in a manner dying while they yet live; no grapes in their vineyards; no cattle in their fields; no herds in their stalls; no corn in their garners; no meal in their barrel; no oil in their cruse."

Though this is the description of a young and ardent republican, under the influence of party prejudice against the oppressors, and of extreme sympathy with the sufferers, yet when compared with the facts detailed by Leger, it will be found too well supported.

The intention of the newly constructed fort at La Tour was now evident. Mons. de Bagnols, infamous for his barbarities in the late massacre, was stationed there with a strong garrison to command all the valleys. The dungeons and ditches were filled with Vaudois, who would have been suffered to starve had it not been for the compassion of some French soldiers. While famine and chains were within, the most barbarous excesses by the soldiery were tolerated without. No wonder that the Vaudois fled from so noxious a neighbourhood. But even flight was wrested into a cause of oppression. Orders

were issued that the fugitives should return within three days to their domiciles and enrol their names at the fort. The latter step would have been to cast themselves into a den of wild beasts. Some, however, returned to their houses in the vain hope of preserving a remnant of property. These were carried off prisoners to the castle, while the goods of those remaining in their hiding-places were confiscated on a charge of disobedience.

Their supplications to the throne were declared inadmissible, if religion or trade were alluded to. And when, at last, under the influence of extreme misery, they framed a petition free from the objectionable remarks, it was used, in answer to the interference of the Bernois ambassador, as a proof that cause for complaint, on the score of religion, no longer existed.

The effect of the fort at La Tour on the condition of the Vaudois was so grateful to the "Council for the propagation of faith, &c." (the principal cause of all these cruelties) that the duke was prevailed on to increase the garrison and supplies in the fort of Mirebouc, at the opposite extremity of the valley of Lucerne. The Vaudois were called on to transport

these instruments of their own destruction. Disobedience would have been termed rebellion, and immunity was promised to compliance. The principal persons in all the communes were at the same time invited to different places to discuss the justice of their complaints. The most dreaded of the inhabitants being thus disposed of, the valleys were suddenly inundated in the beginning of 1663 by a large army under the command of the Marquis de Fleuri. Treachery and atrocity, as usual, on the one side, and heroic devotedness on the other, marked the progress of this war during fourteen months. Never were greater energies developed by the oppressors. Troops followed troops, generals succeeded generals, treaty after treaty was offered to beguile the Vaudois into a false security, but in vain. In 1664, the Duke of Savoy was glad, under the pretence of yielding to the remonstrances of the protestant powers, to grant peace to those whom he could not destroy.

Of such sort were the persecutions which compose the history of the Vaudois from the beginning of the fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth century. Nor can the intervals between them be considered periods, so much of

security and repose, as of agonising reflections and fearful anticipation.

The contemplation of such things is humiliating to human nature. But true it is that what was designed as our greatest blessing, may, by perversion, become our greatest curse. Religion, like the refiner's fire, is the only agent capable of destroying those elements which it is alone capable of perfecting.

We will now turn to a more pleasing subject, the character of the sufferers as it appears from the testimony of their adversaries.

Some offensive points of character, or at least a deficiency in amiable qualities, may naturally be suspected in the objects of the hatred of so many generations. On the contrary, we find, by the testimony of their adversaries, that they were eminently moral, peaceable, affectionate, and pious. "With respect to their manners and lives they are without reproach, applying themselves with all their power to keep God's commandments," is the expression of a celebrated archbishop of Turin*, in a work composed by him against this people. The same testimony, as to their practice, is afforded by Lalenstinius,

* Claude Scyssel.

a Dominican friar, with the additional commendations of veracity and unanimity in brotherly love*.

Reynerius, an inquisitor employed to suppress them, mentions their unwearied study of the scriptures, and affirms that "when they see any one leading an irregular life, they say to him, the apostles did not live so, nor should we, who would imitate the apostles." The praise bestowed by the candid De Thou on the practice of these opposers of his faith is so unqualified, that its insertion in his own words is expedient. † *Observant decalogi præcepta, quibus regula sancté et pie vivendi traditur, omnem a se ac suis cœtibus iniquitatem eliminant, illicitas pejerationes, perjuria, diras imprecationes, contumelias, rixas, seditiones, crapulas, ebrietatem, scortationes, divinationes, sacrilegia, incantationes, furta, usuras,*

* Boni in moribus et vitâ, veraces in sermone, in charitate fraternâ unanimes.

† Thuani Hist. lib. 27. Leger, lib. 1, p. 184.—They keep the commandments, the rule of a pious and holy life. They expel from themselves and their assemblies all iniquity, unlawful oaths, perjury, curses, reproaches, strife, seditions, debauchery, drunkenness, fornication, divinations, sacrilege, witchcraft, theft, usury, deceit, and all such vices, they eschew and cordially detest.

præstigias, et id genus alia aversantur ac toto pectore detestantur.

Charles Martell*, in his History of the French Monarchy, relates, that Innocent III., through his legate Julien, after accusing the Vaudois of many crimes, urged Louis XII. to extirpate them from his dominions without granting an audience to their deputies. The king replied, "Though I were at war with the Turk, or the devil, I would hear what he had to say for himself."

The Vaudois having made their defence, the king sent two commissioners (one of them a Dominican and the royal confessor) to the country inhabited by the accused. Their report, upon oath, was to this effect: "Having visited the parishes and churches of the Vaudois, we find no images, no trace of the service of the mass, nor any paraphernalia used in the ceremonies observed by catholics. But having also made strict inquiry into their manner of living, we cannot discover the least shadow of the crimes imputed to them. On the contrary, it appears that they piously observe the sabbath, baptize their children after the manner of the primitive church, and are thoroughly instructed in the

* P. 56 and 57. Leger, l. 1, p. 187.

doctrine of the apostles' creed, and in the law of God."

The king, on hearing this, swore that the Vaudois were the best of Frenchmen, confirmed their liberties, and disbanded the army prepared for their destruction.

Francis the First*, successor of Louis XII., and emulous of his mercy and justice, ordered the Comte de Langeay, governor of Piemont, to investigate some alleged acts of oppression on the Vaudois of Merindol. Two Romish priests were accordingly despatched to inquire into the nature and justice of their complaints. The following account was returned: — That these Valdenses had been a very suffering people; that they originally came from Piemont, and employed themselves as shepherds and husbandmen; had rebuilt some villages destroyed in the wars, and restored to cultivation many barren places. They were a peaceable people, it was stated, and beloved of their neighbours; men of good and godly conversation, careful to perform their promises and pay their debts, suffering

* Joach. Camerarius Hist. Perrin's Forerunners of Luther, lib. i. ch. 5.

none of their own people to be in want or beggary, and, to the utmost of their means, liberal to strangers and poor travellers; and moreover, that they were known among the other inhabitants of the district by their total abstinence from blasphemy or swearing of any sort, unless when required by law, and by their withdrawing from all company indulging in wanton or profane discourse. Many similar accounts are given by other Romanists, equally illustrative of Romish candour and Vallensian virtue.

These habits, founded on a religious faith, were supported by a rigid church discipline.

But as discipline regulates practice, so does government produce discipline; and if the value of different systems of governing be estimated by their results, that which prevailed in the Vallensian church has certainly never been excelled. I may say this, without offence to any party, if it be true that in ecclesiastical as in civil jurisdiction, outward forms may innocently vary with the different conditions of different nations.

The synod, presided over by the moderator, has always possessed the chief authority in the Vallensian church. It was composed, as at present, of all the pastors, and a portion of the elders

deputed by the people. An annual meeting was held in September, excepting in times of persecution, when winter was preferred, on account of protection afforded by the snow. In one of the manuscripts at Cambridge, it is related, that as many as 140 barbes, or pastors, were present at a synod in the valley of Prajelas. From the same authority we learn the use of this seemingly extravagant number. They were sent by turns into every part of Europe to visit their scattered brethren and preach the gospel to them, especially, it is stated (not solely), after the year 1180. Bohemia, England, and Germany, are among the countries enumerated. Funds were placed at the disposal of the synod to provide for these travellers and the poor.

If these documents can be relied on, and their authority has never been questioned, we must admit the existence of a set of men who not only carefully preserved, but actively diffused the true light of the gospel during those ages in which we are too apt to consider it as having been extinguished. Nor was this the casual work of detached individuals, but the constant object of succeeding generations, acting in concert and acknowledging the same ecclesiastical

authority. Sublime indeed is the picture of these venerable christians, assembled in conclave among Alpine snows, to protect a doctrine as superior in glorious simplicity, to that opposed by them, as are the mountains which surrounded them to the gorgeous cupola of St. Peter's. This consideration may lessen our astonishment at the rise and success of the reformation, but will increase our veneration for the providence of Him, who had 7,000 left to him in Israel, when the prophet imagined that he alone remained*.

To return, however, to the synod. Its authority extended not only over all matters ecclesiastical, but even over temporal differences. Their practice in this respect was indeed altogether admirable.

The discipline of the church expressly forbade recourse to law. All disputes were referred, in the first instance, to the elders; from them, by appeal, to the consistory of the parish; the consistory appointed arbitrators to whom, if necessary, the moderator was added as super-arbitrator. Seldom could a dispute outlive this

* 1st Kings, c. 19, v. 18.

process, and then only, as has been said, to be terminated by the synod.

The consistory was composed of all the elders and the deacon; the elders, one or more in every village, were not chosen without a rigid examination, and the deacon was elected from among them. The office of the latter was to take charge of and distribute the alms, and account for them to the pastor.

At these consistories the pastor requested an examination of his conduct, and a charitable remonstrance on any part of it that might appear objectionable. He then withdrew for the sake of greater freedom of discussion. On his return the most ancient elder communicated to him the result of their deliberation; this elder then withdrew, as did all the rest, in their turns, for the same purpose. Thus they "submitted themselves one to another, in fear of God *." There was also a third and monthly meeting in each of the valleys to enforce the discipline of the church: this was composed of the pastors respectively inhabiting them, with one or two

* Ephes. v. 20.

elders from each parish. And lest this discipline should be affected by the caprices or passions incidental to human nature, its rules were accurately defined and drawn up in the form of canons. A copy of these canons is preserved among the manuscripts so often alluded to. It is thus headed. *The Discipline by Means of which the Barbes or Pastors of the Vaudois have preserved the true Doctrine, and have prevented and corrected disorderly Living.* In the first article, discipline is declared, to comprehend all moral doctrine as taught by our Saviour and his apostles, to teach every individual how to live in faith in his vocation, and to unite the faithful in bonds of love and communion. The necessary qualifications and manner of election to the ministry are prescribed, the instruction of children is enforced, the office of the elders defined, and ecclesiastical censure authorised and regulated. Taverns and dances are deprecated, (dances, as appears by their description, far different from ours); and the following rules of conduct are laid down.

En qual modo lo poble haver a quelli de defora.

1. Non amar lo mond.
2. Fugir la mala consortia.
3. Si ez possible aver paiz con tuit.
4. Non contendre en judici.
5. Non veniar si meseime.
6. Amar la ennemie.
7. Voler sostenir trabails, calomnies, riprovanças, vergognas, enjurias, e totas generations de torments per la verità.
8. Possessir las armas en patientia.
9. Non amenar joug cum li non fidel.
10. Non communicàr las malas obras, e totalement à las sabent idolotria, e del serviçi sentent zo meseisme, e enenci de las autras.

Enear en qual maniera li fidel deban regir li cors.

1. Non servir à li desirièr mortàl de la caru.
2. Gardar li lor membres, qu'illi non sian armà d'iniquitàs.
3. Regir li lor sentiment.
4. Saturettre lo corps à l'esprit.
5. Mortificar li membres.

How the people ought to conduct themselves with strangers.

1. Love not the world.
2. Avoid bad company.
3. If possible, live in peace with all men.
4. Strive not in law.
5. Revenge not yourselves.
6. Love your enemy.
7. Be willing to suffer toils, calumny, threats, rejection of men, wrongs, and all torments for truth's sake.
8. Possess your souls in patience.
9. Enter not the yoke with the unfaithful.
10. Hold no communication with bad works, nor by any means with what savours of idolatry, nor with services inclining to it, nor with any thing of the sort.

How the faithful ought to keep their bodies under subjection.

1. Serve not the mortal desires of the flesh.
2. Watch over your members, lest they be members of iniquity.
3. Rule your affections.
4. Submit the body to the soul.
5. Mortify your members.

6. Fugir la ociosetà.

7. Gardir sobrietà, e mesura en manger, et en beore, e en parolas, e en las curas de lo mond.

8. Far obras de misericordia.

9. Vivre per Fè, e per vita moràl.

10. Combattre contra li desirier.

11. Mortificar las obras de la caru.

12. Istar en temp debit à religion.

13. Ensemp recordar la Divina voluntà.

14. Examinar diligentement la conscientia.

15. Mundàr, e esmendàr, e pacificar l'esprit.

6. Avoid idleness.

7. Be sober and temperate, in eating and drinking, in your words and the cares of this world.

8. Do works of charity.

9. Live by faith and moral practice.

10. Control your desires.

11. Mortify the works of the flesh.

12. Devote yourselves to religion in due seasons.

13. Confer one with another on the will of God.

14. Examine diligently your consciences.

15. Cleanse, amend, and pacify your minds.

It was in consequence of examining these canons that Bucer declared that it must be allowed that the Vaudois had truly preserved among them the discipline of Christ's church, an opinion assented to by Luther, Æcolampadius, and Melancthon. The latter, in a letter written to the Vaudois, A. D. 1559, thus expressed himself:—" I cannot in truth object to the severe discipline and practice prevailing among you ; would to God it were a little more severe among us."

The pastors were diligently taught and rigidly examined. When approved of by the synod, they were ordained, with imposition of hands, by the moderator. Their pastoral duties were explained and enforced on these occasions in a sermon also by the moderator. Their wants were supplied from the gratuitous offerings of their flocks, paid publicly to the synod.

One question with respect to their church government remains to be considered—a question involving no less important matter than successive episcopal consecration. This ornament of our church establishment, so justly cherished by us, is unquestionably no longer preserved among the Vaudois. They glory in

the preservation of a successive apostolic doctrine, amidst the aberrations of the rest of their brethren of the western church.

The functions, however, of the ancient Vallensian moderator were the same as those of Protestant and Romish bishops. If the synod had a more general, the moderator had a more direct authority. Though elected by the synod (as were all bishops in the primitive ages) he was not amenable to it; but, on the contrary, was, as now, its president, and his office was for life. He only could confer holy orders, by the imposition of hands; and he only had authority to visit the churches, inquire into the doctrine and practice of their pastors, examine at his discretion the whole economy of the church, and reform such abuses as he might discover. Thus did the moderators, as *overseers*, take heed unto the flock *.

The duties of this apostolically appointed office being thus perfectly performed, the title of the officiator is important only so far as respects the validity of his appointment. And here I may remark, without fear of contradiction from any quarter, that the jealousy among Romanists of

* Acts, ch. 20, v. 28.

ecclesiastical title has been in proportion to their boundless ambition after ecclesiastical power. Never were men more aware of the value, nor more artful in the use of ostensible rank.

Yet did these guardians of the œcumenical right of the pontiffs grant the title of *episcopi* to the heads of the Vallensian church *, and even attached to them a degree of power so inconsistent with the notions on this subject of the Vaudois themselves, that Leger and Perrin have rebutted the report as discreditable.

I have, on a former occasion †, stated that the claim of the Moravians to episcopal succession, through a Vallensian bishop ‡, Stephanus, has been recognised by a British parliament.

An obvious difficulty here occurs as to the means of consecration among the Vallenses, when the supremacy, disclaimed by them, was acknowledged, and the errors, rejected by them, were adopted by the bishops of Pinerol § and the neighbouring sees.

* Usher. Allix.

† Sketch of the History and present Condition of the Vaudois.

‡ Commenius. Allix.

§ The valleys are in this diocese.

It is clear that these prelates would not create an episcopal power to be exercised within their own diocese, and this to the separation of their church and the promulgation of doctrines denounced by them as heresies.

This view of the question both implies a breach of episcopal succession among the Vallenses, and shows that breach to have been unavoidable. It may even imply their respect for the rite of consecration, and their attachment to episcopal jurisdiction: the latter in preserving the essence of the office in the functions performed by the moderator; the former in not assuming the title in the absence of a principal ceremony. That such has been the state of this part of their church government during the last four centuries, I believe, after assiduous inquiry. Nor is this opinion at variance with the notion, already alluded to, that there were Vallensian bishops in the earlier stages of their church.

Guichenon* has inserted copies of letters, written in the eleventh century, by Pope Nicolas and his legate Damian, to Adelaide, Marchioness of Susa. Allusion is there made to some refractory

* Histoire Genealogique, &c. vol. iii. p. 10, et seq.

bishops in Piémont. These bishops being hostile to the pope's supremacy, and deposed on that account, were likely to enter into communion with their neighbours the Vallenses. Matthew Paris * relates that they converted many bishops in Croatia and Dalmatia; and I have met somewhere with an account particularizing among their converts a bishop of Constance. Under these circumstances I see no reason to distrust the statement by Commenius with respect to Stephanus.

But it will be asked, why, then, did not the Vallenses retain this form of ecclesiastical government? The answer is: they could not. Repeated persecutions reducing their number, and cutting off communication with their derivative churches, would naturally deprive them of the means of consecration. It could not be expected that the little flock, scattered among the secret places in the mountains, could retain in itself a successive episcopacy, a system implying the co-existence of bishops; and want of communication would preclude any attempt to seek them elsewhere, even if such search could

* Hist. Angl. p. 317.

have been effectual. Moreover, the tremendous troubles in which the Vallenses were engaged, for many generations, in the defence of religion itself, may surely be pleaded as an apology for the interruption of a successive church government. The destruction also of their college at Angrogna, and the necessary consequence, foreign education of their ministers, would alone have been fatal to episcopacy. This defect in outward form (for we have seen that the practice remained) may be matter for regret, surely not for censure.

The discipline and form of government of the Vallensian church having been stated, I will refer my readers, on the subject of doctrine, to the expositions of their faith attached to this compendium. They have been selected without partiality, from a large variety given by Leger, Perrin, and Sir Samuel Morland, and preserved in the original language at Cambridge.

We have seen that, in the first instance, this faith was held by the Vallenses in common with the primitive church of Turin, under the episcopal care of Claude; that they retained it through the dark ages; contended for it against the utmost efforts of human power and cruelty; and

disseminated it till it was seized by the early reformers. We have seen, also, that under all these difficulties they illustrated its excellence by superior morality. Romish as well as Protestant testimony, of the highest character, has been adduced in support of these facts. I will, therefore, conclude with Allix's remark on Bossuet's reproaching the reformed churches with their Vallensian origin. "Let the bishop of Meaux then, if he please, think the protestants might be ashamed to go and look for their ancestors among the Waldenses, and to hunt for them in the caverns of the Alps; his declamations shall never be able to make us forego a jot of that tender veneration and respect we have most justly conceived for this nursery and seed-plot of martyrs, and for those triumphant troops who have so generously lavished away their blood in the defence of truth, against all the efforts, all the machinations, and all the violences of the Romish party."

ANCIENT VALLENSIAN CATECHISM,

COPIED FROM

LENNARD'S TRANSLATION OF PERRIN.

La Barba. Si tu fosses demanda qui sies tu Respond.

L'Enfant. Creatura de Dio, rational et mortal, &c.

THE PASTOR.

Question. *What art thou?*

Answer. A creature of God, reasonable and mortal.

Q. *Why hath God created thee?*

A. To the end I should know and serve him, and that I might be saved by his grace.

Q. *In what doth thy salvation consist?*

A. In three essential vertues which doe necessarily belong to salvation.

Q. *Which be they?*

A. Faith, hope, and charity.

Q. *How doest thou proue it?*

A. The apostle saith in the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xiii. 13, "These three things remain, faith, hope, and charity."

Q. *What is faith?*

A. According to the apostle, Heb. xi. 1, "It is the substance of things hoped for, the euidence of things not seene."

Q. *How many kindes of faith are there?*

A. There are two sorts of faith, that is, a liuely and a dead faith.

Q. *What is a lively faith?*

A. That which worketh by charity.

Q. *What is a dead faith?*

A. According to St. James, that faith which is without workes is dead. Againe, faith is nothing without workes; or a dead faith is to beleeue there is a God, and to beleeue those things concerning God, and not to beleeue in God.

Q. *What is thy faith?*

A. The true catholic and apostolike faith.

Q. *What is that?*

A. It is that which, in the apostle's symbole, is diuided into twelue articles.

Q. *What is that symbole?*

A. I beleeue in God the Father Almighty, &c.

Q. *By what means canst thou know that thou beleeuest in God?*

A. By this. Because I know that I haue giuen myselfe to the obseruation of the commandements of God.

Q. *How many commandements of God are there?*

A. Ten; as it appeareth in Exodus and Deuteronomy.

Q. *Which are they?*

A. Hearken, O Israel! I am the Lord thy God. Thou shalt haue no other gods but me. Thou shalt not make to thyselfe any grauen image, nor the likenesse of any thing that is in Heaven, &c.

Q. *Upon what doe all these commandements depend?*

A. Upon the two great commandements, that is to say, thou shalt loue God above all things, and thy neighbour as thyselfe.

Q. *What is the foundation of these commandements by which euery one ought to enter into life; without which foundation no man can worthily fulfill the commandements?*

A. Our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the apostle saith, in the first to the Corinthians,

"None can lay any other foundation but that which is laid, even Jesus Christ."

Q. *By what means may a man attaine to this foundation?*

A. By faith. So saith St. Peter, 1st Epistle, ii. 6, "Behold I lay in Sion a chief corner stone, elect, precious; and he that beleeueth in him shall not be confounded." And our Saviour saith, "He that beleeueth in me shall haue eternall life."

Q. *How doest thou know that thou beleeuest?*

A. Because I know him to bee true God and true man, who was borne, and suffered, &c. for my redemption and justification; and that I loue him and desire to fulfill his commandements.

Q. *By what meanes may a man attaine to the essentiall vertues, that is to say, faith, hope, and charity?*

A. By the gifts of the Holy Ghost.

Q. *Doest thou beleeue in the Holy Ghost?*

A. I do beleeue; for the Holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father and the Sonne, and is a person of the trinity, and according to the diuinity, is equall with the Father and the Sonne.

Q. *Doest thou beleeue God the Father, God the*

Sonne, God the Holy Ghost, to be three persons? then there are three Gods.

A. No there are not three.

Q. *But yet thou hast named three?*

A. That was by reason of the difference of the persons, not of the essence of the Diuinity: for though there be three persons, yet there is but one essence.

Q. *After what manner doest thou adore and serue that God in whom thou beleeuest?*

A. I adore him by an exterior and interior adoration: exterior by the bowing of the knees, the lifting up of the hands, the inclination of the body, with hymnes and spirituall songs, fasting, invocation: but inwardly by a holy affection, a will ready to doe what hee pleaseth; and I serue him by faith, hope, and charity, in his commandements.

Q. *Doest thou adore and serue any other thing as God?*

A. No.

Q. *Wherefore?*

A. Because of his commandement, whereby hee hath straightly commanded, saying; Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and him onely shalt thou serve. As also I will not giue my

glory to another. Againe, I liue saith the Lord: every knee shall bow unto me. And Christ Jesus saith, There shall be true worshippers, who shall worship the Father in spirit and truth: and the angell would not be adored by St. John, nor St. Peter by Cornelius.

Q. *After what manner doest thou pray?*

A. I pray according to that prayer that was taught vs by the Sonne of God, Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.

Q. *Which is the other substantiell vertue belonging of necessity to salvation?*

A. It is charity.

Q. *What is charity?*

A. It is a gift of the Holy Ghost whereby the soule is reformed in will, illuminated by faith, whereby I beleeue all that I ought to beleeue, and hope whatsoever I ought to hope.

Q. *Doest thou beleeue in the holy church?*

A. No, for that is a creature: but I beleeue there is a church.

Q. *What is that thou beleeuest touching the holy church?*

A. I say that the church is considered after a twofold manner; the one in it's substance, the other in it's ministry; considered in it's sub-

stance, by the church we vnderstand the holy catholike church, which containeth all the elect of God from the beginning of the world to the end, in the grace of God by the merit of Christ, assembled by the Holy Ghost, ordained from the beginning to eternall life, the names and numbers of whom is known onely to God, who has elected them. And lastly, in this church there remaineth no excommunicated person: but the church considered according to the veritie of the ministery are the ministers of Christ, with the people subject vnto them or committed to their charge, vsing their ministry by faith, hope, and charity.

Q. *By what markes doest thou know the church of Christ?*

A. By fit and conuenient ministers, and by the people who participate in the truth of that ministrie.

Q. *How doest thou know the ministers?*

A. By the true apprehension of faith, by sound doctrine, by the life of good example, the preaching of the gospell, and the due administration of the sacraments.

Q. *By what markes doest thou know the false ministers?*

A. By their fruits; by their blindnesse, by their wicked works, by their peruerse doctrine, and by their unfit disorderly administration of the sacraments.

Q. *How may we know their blindnesse?*

A. When they, not knowing that truth which belongeth of necessity to saluation, observe humane inuentions as the commandments of God, of whom that is verefied that the prophet Esay speaketh, and that hath beene alledged by our Sauiour Christ Jesus, Mat. iv. 15. "This people honour mee with their lips but their heart is farre from mee, but they serue mee for nothing, teaching the doctrines and commandments of men."

Q. *By what meanes or markes are wicked workes made knowne?*

A. By those manifest sinnes of which the apostle speaketh, Rom. 1st, saying that they that doe such things shall not inherit the kingdome of God.

Q. *By what markes is false doctrine made knowne?*

A. When men teach against faith, and hope, as diuers kind of idolatries, worshipping the reasonable, sensible, visible or invisible creature:

for it is the Father onely with his Sonne and the Holy Ghost, that must be served and no other creature. But contrarily we attribute to man, and to the worke of his hands, or to his words, or to his authority, in such manner, that men being blinded thinke that God is a debtour unto them for their false religion, and couetous simony of priests.

Q. *By what markes is the desorderly administration of the sacraments knowne?*

A. When the priests know not the intention of Christ in the sacraments, and teach that all grace and truth is included in them, by the only outward ceremonies, and leade men to the participation of the sacraments without the truth of faith, hope, and charity. It is the will of the Lord, that all his should take heed of false prophets, saying, " Beware of false prophets ;" and againe, " Beware of the Pharisees," that is to say, of their leuen and false doctrine. And again, " Beleeue them not, follow not after them." David hateth all such persons, and therefore he saith, " I hate the congregation of the wicked." And the Lord commandeth vs to withdraw oureselues from among such people, Numbers xvi. 26. " Depart from the tents of

those wicked men and touch nothing of theirs, lest you be consumed in all their sinnes." And the apostle, 2 Cor. vi. 14. " Be ye not vnequally yoked together with unbeleevers; for what fellowship hath righteousnesse with vnrighteousnesse, and what communion hath light with darknesse? What concord hath Christ with Belial, or what part hath he that beleeueth with an infidell? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idoles? Wherefore come out from among them and be ye separated saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receiue you." Againe, in the 2 Thessalonians, iii. 12. " We command and exort you by our Lord Jesus Christ that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly." And in the 18th of the Revelations, " Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sinnes and that yee receeue not of her plagues."

Q. *By what markes may we knowe those that are not in the truth of the church?*

A. By their publike sinnes and erroneous faith; for we are to flie such people, least wee bee contaminated with their sinnes.

Q. *By what things oughtest thou to communicate with the holy church?*

A. I must communicate with the church in regard of the substance, by faith, by hope, and by charity, and by the observations of the commandments, and by finall perseverance in that which is good.

Q. *How many ministerial things are there?*

A. Two, the word and the sacraments.

Q. *How many sacraments are there?*

A. Two; that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord.

Q. *What is the third vertue necessary to salvation?*

A. Hope.

Q. *What is hope?*

A. It is a certain expectation of the grace and glory to come.

Q. *By what meanes do we hope for grace?*

A. By the mediator Jesus Christ, of whom St. John speaketh chap. i. 17. "Grace came by Jesus Christ;" and againe, "Wee beheld his glory full of grace and truth, and wee have all received of his fulnesse."

Q. *What is grace?*

A. It is redemption, remission of sinnes, justification, adoption, sanctification.

Q. *By what meanes do wee hope for this grace in Christ?*

A. By a liuely faith, and true repentance; Jesus Christ saying, repent and beleeue the gospell.

Q. *From whence doth hope proceed?*

A. From the gift of God and his promises; and therefore saith the apostle, He is able to accomplish whatsoever he promiseth. For he has promised himselfe that at what time soeuer a sinner shall know him and repent him of his sinnes, and hope, that hee will have mercy, pardon, and justification, &c.

Q. *What are the things that divert a man from this hope?*

A. A dead faith, the seducing of Anti-Christ to any other than Christ; that is to say, to saints, and the power of that Anti-Christ in his authority, words, benedictions, sacraments, reliques of the dead. The teaching men to haue hope by those meanes that directly oppose themselves against the trueth, and against the commandements of God, as idolatry after diuers manners, and simoniacall wickednesses, &c. Abandoning the fountains of liuing water giuen by grace, to

runne after broken cisterns, adoring, and honouring, and seruing, the creature by prayers, and fastings, and sacrifices, donations, offerings, pilgrimages, invocations, &c. Trusting thereby to attaine grace, which none can giue, but God alone in Christ Jesus. So that in vaine they trauell and lose their siluer and their life, and doubtless not only their life present, but that which is to come. For which cause it is said, that the hope of felons shall perish.

Q. *And what say you of the blessed Virgin Mary? For she is full of grace as the angel testifieth: haile Mary, full of grace, &c.*

A. The blessed Virgin hath beene, and is full of grace in herselfe, but not to communicate unto others: for her Sonne only is full of grace to bestow on others, as it is said of him, "And we all receeue of his fulnes grace for grace."

Q. *Doest thou not beleeue the communion of Saints?*

A. I beleeve there are two things in the which the faithfull doe communicate; the one is substantiall, the other ministeriall: they communicate in the substantiall by the Holy Ghost, in God by the merit of Jesus Christ. But they communicate in the ministeriall or ecclesias-

ticall, by the ministery duely exercised, that is to say, by the word, by the sacraments, and by prayer. I beleeue the one and the other of these two communions of Saints. The first onely in God by the spirit, the other in the church by Christ.

Q. *In what does life eternal consist?*

A. In a liuely faith and perseuerance therein. Our Sauiour saith, John, xvii. 3. "This is life eternall, that they might know thee the onely true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." And "he that perseuereth to the end shall be saved." Amen.

A short Confession of Faith by the Churches of Piémont, published with a Manifesto, on Occasion of the frightful Massacres in 1655.

Having learnt that our aduersaries, not content with persecuting us and robbing us of our possessions, endeavour, by most infamous calomnies, to render us odious, as well as our holy religion, we feel ourselves bound, again shortly

to declare our faith, to prove to all men the falsehood of these calomnies, and the injustice of hating and persecuting us for so innocent a doctrine.

We believe,

1st. That there is one God, spiritual, eternal, infinite, all-wise, all-powerful, and all-just; in one word, perfect: and that in this single and simple essence there are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

2d. That God has manifested himself to men in his works, as well of creation as of providence, in his word, revealed in the beginning by divers oracles, and afterwards reduced to writing in the books entitled the Holy Scriptures.

3d. That these Holy Scriptures must be received, and are received by us, as divine and canonical, that is to say, as the rule of our faith and life; and we believe that they are all contained in the books of the Old and New Testament: that by the Old Testament are to be understood only the books committed by God to the Judaic church, and recognized by that church as divine; namely, the five books of Moses, the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth; two books of Samuel, two of Kings, two of Chronicles,

those of Esdras, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticle of Canticles, (or the Song of Solomon), the four greater, and the twelve lesser prophets*. That the New Testament contains the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles by St. Paul to the Romans, to the Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians and Hebrews†; one Epistle by St. James, two by St. Peter, three by St. John, one by St. Jude, and the Apocalypse.

4th. We acknowledge the divine authority of these books not merely on the testimony of the church, but chiefly on account of the eternal and indisputable truth of their doctrine, and the excellence, sublimity, and divine majesty pervading them, and by the operation of the Holy Ghost, that leads us to receive with deference the testimony of the church, opens our eyes to the celestial light of the Scriptures, and directs our

* In another Confession of Faith the Vaudois acknowledge the books of Apocrypha to be written by devout persons, and worthy of attentive perusal, but withhold from them the character of inspiration.

† Though the Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon, are here omitted, they are mentioned in other confessions, and cited as authority in the canons defining their discipline.

judgement to discern, by it's holy savour, the true food for our souls.

5th. That God created all things by his own will and the infinite power of his word.

6th. That God governs all things, by his providence ordaining and arranging all occurrences; and this without being the author of the evil committed by man, or being in any way liable to it's charge.

7th. That the angels were created pure and holy, but that some fell into corruption and irreparable perdition, while others persevered in the right way, upheld and confirmed by divine goodness.

8th. That man was created pure and holy, in the image of God, and lost this blessed state by assenting to the tempting discourse of the devil.

9th. That man has lost, by his transgression, the justice and sanctity at first received by him, has encountered God's indignation, death, and captivity, and submitted himself to Him who "hath the power of death." That thus his will, formerly free, has been enslaved, and his nature so corrupted, that he is the "child of wrath," "dead in sin," and incapable, without grace, of effectual effort towards salvation, or even of any good thought.

10th. That Adam's descendants are all guilty in him, infected by his corruption, and plunged, even to the new-born child, into the same calamity. Hence the term original sin.

11th. That God withdraws from this corruption and condemnation those elected by him in his mercy, through his son Jesus Christ; and that his right thus freely to exercise his justice is unquestionable.

12th. That Jesus Christ was ordained, from the beginning, by God to be the only Saviour, and the only head of his body, the church: that he has redeemed it by his blood, and offers and communicates to it, in the gospel, all the benefits of his sacrifice.

13th. That Jesus Christ had two natures, the divine and the human, in one person, neither confounded, divided, separated, nor changed, each nature preserving it's own properties; and that Jesus Christ is very God and very man.

14th. That "God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son" to save us by his perfect obedience—obedience especially evinced in submitting to the cursed death of the cross, and in subduing the devil, sin, and death.

15th. That since Jesus Christ entirely expiated our sins by his one perfect sacrifice on the cross,

this sacrifice ought not to be repeated under any pretext.

16th. That since Jesus Christ fully reconciled us, by his blood, to God, we are absolved and justified, only by his merits, not by our own works.

17th. That we have communion with Jesus Christ and his benefits by faith, founded on the promises of the gospel.

18th. That this faith is the effect of the gracious operation of the Holy Ghost, enlightening our souls, and inclining us to rely on the mercy of God, that the merits of Jesus Christ may be imputed to us.

19th. That Jesus Christ is our only mediator and redeemer; and that his merits and mediation ensure for us access to the Father in prayer, without recourse to any other intercessor.

20th. That since God has promised us regeneration in Jesus Christ, those who unite themselves to him with a lively faith, must, and do, devote themselves to good works.

21st. That since good works, pre-ordained of God, are necessary to the attainment of everlasting happiness, we must shun vice, and

seek Christian virtues, by fasting and all other means calculated to promote so sacred an end.

22d. That although our works cannot be meritorious, yet will they be rewarded by God in his gracious mercy, as he has unchangeably promised.

23d. That those who have attained eternal life through their faith and good works, should be deemed holy and glorified, and should be praised and imitated, but neither adored nor invoked; for we should pray only to one God, through Jesus Christ.

24th. That God has collected to himself, in this world, for the salvation of men, a church having one head and one foundation, Jesus Christ.

25th. That this church is the "company of the faithful"—"chosen of God before the foundations of the world"—"called with a holy calling"—united in obeying the word of God—believing what He teaches, and living in His fear.

26th. That this church will be perpetual.

27th. That all men should unite and remain in her communion.

28th. That God not only instructs us by his

holy word, but that He has instituted sacraments to bring us closer to Christ and his benefits; and that these sacraments are common to all the members of the church, and are two only, namely, baptism and the Lord's supper.

29th. That baptism is a testimony of our adoption, that we are washed by it from our sins in the blood of Christ, and renewed by it unto holiness of life.

30th. That the sacrament of the Lord's supper was instituted for the nourishment of our souls, and to the end that eating the body and drinking the blood of Christ with a true and lively faith, and thus uniting ourselves to him by the incomprehensible power of the Holy Ghost, we may, in him and by him, attain eternal life. And in order that all men may clearly understand our belief on this point, we subjoin part of the prayer used in our liturgy previous to the communion. "And as our Lord once offered his body and blood for the remission of our sins, and is also desirous that we should partake of them as nourishment to eternal life, give us grace, that, with sincerity of heart, and ardent zeal, we may receive this great benefit, so that with stedfast faith we may take ad-

vantage of his body and blood." And again: "Let us believe the promises of Christ, who is the very truth," that he will truly make us partakers of his body and blood, to the end that we may perfectly possess Him; that is, that He shall live in us, and we in Him.

31st. That it is necessary for the church to have pastors whose knowledge and virtue have been ascertained, by competent authority, to preach the word of God, administer his sacraments, and watch over the flock, in conformity with the rules of a good and holy discipline; and that the pastoral office be assisted by the elders and deacons, as was the practice of the primitive church.

32d. That God has appointed kings and magistrates to direct the people, and that the people owe them subjection and obedience, in all things conforming to the word of God, who is King of kings, and Lord of lords, agreeably to the precept, "not only for wrath, but conscience' sake."

33d. Lastly, we should receive the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, as the foundations of our belief and devotions.

And, for the more ample exposition of our

faith, we repeat our protestation, printed in 1603, namely, that we consent to the holy doctrine of the reformed churches of France, England, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, &c., as expressed by them in the Augsbourg Confession. And we will, with God's assistance, persevere in it in life and death; and we are ready to sign this divine truth with our blood, as our ancestors have done ever since the time of the apostles, and more especially in these latter ages. Moreover, we humbly entreat all evangelical or protestant churches to consider us, notwithstanding our poverty and want of numbers, as true and suffering members of the mystical body of Christ, and to extend to us the aid of their prayers, and all other kind offices of their charity so abundantly experienced by us. And we thank them with all humility for these benefits, and pray heartily unto God that He will remunerate them, and shower on them his most precious blessings of grace and glory, both in this life and in the one to come.—Amen.

Additions to the above Confession.

A brief Justification on some Articles of Belief falsely imputed to us and all Reformed Churches, by the Romish Doctors, accusing us of believing,

1st. That God is the author of sin.

2d. That God is not omnipotent.

3d. That Jesus Christ lost all hope on the cross.

4th. That since man is excited to works of salvation by the Spirit of God, he co-operates thereto no more than a block of wood or a stone.

5th. That, in consequence of predestination, practice is unimportant.

6th. That good works are unnecessary to salvation.

7th. That we absolutely reject confession of sins and repentance.

8th. That all fasting and mortification of the flesh should be neglected, and that men may live dissolutely.

9th. That every man may be guided by his

own pleasure, and the direction of his own mind, in the explanation of the Scriptures.

10th. That the church may altogether fail, and become extinct.

11th. That baptism is unnecessary.

12th. That in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper we have no real communion with Jesus Christ, but merely a figurative one.

13th. That men are not bound to obey magistrates, kings, &c. &c.

14th. They accuse us also of contempt for the Holy Virgin and men already glorified, because we do not invoke them; whereas we pronounce them to be blessed, and worthy of praise and imitation; especially the Holy Virgin, "Blessed among women."

Instead of believing these dogmas, so falsely imputed to us, we hold them to be heretical and damnable, and anathematize all those who support them.

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Drawn by Hugh Dyke Acland.

Engraved by Edwd Finden

ARCH AT SUSA.

Published June 1837 by John Murray London

PROVINCIA DI TORINO

THE

GLORIOUS RECOVERY

BY

THE VAUDOIS

OF

THEIR VALLEYS.

TO

HER SACRED MAJESTY

ANNE,

QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND,

PROTECTRESS OF THE FAITH.

MADAM,

ONE of the most striking events in history is the cause why this book has not sooner seen the light. This event consists in the fact, that his royal highness the Duke of Savoy was seen, in the same campaign, at the head of the allied army in Piemont, and of the army of France in Italy. It was easy to perceive in this, a stroke of fine policy on the part of that prince, rather than the result of his inclination. Time has made this known to all Europe.

Europe knows too that France shamefully disarmed the troops which this prince had in her service in the Milanese, and at that period the second book* of this history will commence. The first, which I now take the liberty of presenting to your majesty, has been composed from the memoirs of two men of letters, the one a Vaudois and the other a Frenchman, who had orders to note down, from day to day, the most remarkable events with respect to the Vaudois, while they were traversing the highest mountains of Savoy to return into their own country. It is true that some essential facts are added which men, while running, could not commit to writing; but they will be remembered by French, Italians, Savoyards, Swiss, and Spaniards; for not one circumstance is advanced which is not supported by thousands of living witnesses. All those nations have been employed by France and the Duke of Savoy for the utter destruction of the

* This has never appeared. Henri Arnaud probably intended to relate the exploits of his countrymen while serving as subjects to that prince whose injustice, in expatriating them, had taught him to estimate their force as enemies.

poor Vaudois, who have, nevertheless, by the marvellous mercy of the God of armies, always maintained themselves since their return into their valleys.

The histories of Morland, Perrin, Gilles, Leger, &c. prove to the world, that in these valleys of Luzerne, Perouse, St. Martin, and Valcluson or Prajelas, the purity and simplicity of the holy gospel has been preserved from time immemorial. And it is also to be seen that they have suffered thirty-three wars or persecutions for the sake of this gospel, an instance not to be found among the other nations of the earth. France, which has had a design upon Piemont for two hundred years, had taken her measures so justly, that she already said, *it is finished.* In fact, if the omnipotent hand of the great God had not checked the rapid progress of this terrible crown, republics, kingdoms, religion itself, all would have been destroyed by this nation, who carried the terror of her arms to the end of the world. Bear witness of it Messina and Gygery*; bear

* Girgenti, antiently Agrigentum.—Ed.

witness the bombardment of Algiers, the burning of Genoa, the conquest of the greater part of Holland, the betraying of Strasburg and Brisac, the sale of Pignerol * and Casal, the excitement of dark conspiracies in England, Ireland, and Scotland †, the intrigues and the spies in all courts of the world, and the gold and silver profusely distributed; France having descended to bestow pensions even on the wives of counsellors. These intrigues with cabinets, and with commanders of armies, by sea and land, have made your majesty see clearly that France already held the kingdom of Spain and all Europe in her hand. But the pride of titles is often the precursor of their fall. Pharaoh is cast into the sea; Moab the all-haughty is destroyed; and Herod stricken and devoured by vermin. This lofty, wide, and strong tree of France spread too broad an umbrage over the earth. God has sent not one angel, but three, to lop its branches. Great and

* Vide Iron Mask.—Ed.

† In allusion to the efforts of Louis XIV. to restore James II. to the British throne.—Ed.

incomparable queen, these three angels are the King William and the Queen Mary, of glorious and immortal memory, and in the present time your majesty, reigning with the wisdom of Solomon, the strength of Samson, and the firmness and heart of King David. Your majesty is, in this happy age, the only Esther opposed to this cruel and proud Haman, who had every where ordered the destruction of the people of the living God. The orders of your majesty from your cabinet to those two incomparable heroes of our age, the Prince and Duke of Marlborough, and his most Serene Highness the Prince Eugene, are given with so much wisdom, and executed with such fidelity, courage, and promptitude, that they are the admiration of all the world. And these two incomparable princes will be ever blessed on earth, and their names will never die. I have the honour to know the latter, and each is worthy of the finest principality in Italy, Germany, or France. I leave to more sublime spirits the glory of displaying their brilliancy in history.

For my part, I can praise in your majesty no single virtue; but can only say that you possess all in a sovereign degree, and above all, that which God has called the greatest, *charity*. This your majesty diffuses secretly in your kingdom, and universally over the pastors in the valleys of Piémont, and the seven exiles who exercise their ministry in the duchy of Wirtemberg and neighbourhood of Francfort. I am delighted, also, in making known to the public that your majesty, of your own self, has deigned to honour my family with your royal pension, and that you have always the goodness to remember a servant of God who has lived sixty years, and forty of them as a minister persecuted from his youth upwards; who has run from one adventure to another, from mountain to mountain, and from rock to rock, while resisting for months together, with a handful of men, the arms of France and of the Duke of Savoy. This history has rolled over precipices, and sprang from valley to valley: it will then be rude and rough, but not the less

true; and if it has not the polished language expected in this age, yet it shall possess pure sincerity and truth. Before I finish this epistle, your majesty, all good, all wise, and all charitable, will permit me to represent that it has been said of Europe, "If England breaks not Europe's chains, Europe must become a slave." Blessed be for ever the God of Heaven, who has taken your majesty by his good right hand, to place you on the throne where you reign so gloriously. The chains of Europe *are* broken. The same great God wills not that your majesty should forget the Sion of his Son, nor that you should make peace, unless the lamp of Christ be re-kindled where persecution had extinguished it; as, for example, in Hungary, France, and the valleys of Perouse, &c. May your majesty, also, have at heart the deliverance of the poor galley-slaves, as well French as Vaudois; some of whom have been loaded with chains for more than twenty years, on account only of their religion. The good offices which Christians presume to hope from the natural goodness and charity of

your majesty will bring blessings from heaven and earth on your sacred person, and will incline the Omnipotent to prolong your life; to render your reign glorious and happy; to cause your arms and armies to flourish by sea and land; to bless your wise, penetrating, and enlightened council; and to grant increasing prosperity to the great, intrepid, and warlike nation of your kingdoms, till the time shall come, marked by the finger of God, who will change the crown of this world into a crown eternal, glorious, and immortal, according to his irrevocable promises. And to this purpose do I pray continually to the God of heaven from the bottom of my heart, being always with the most lively gratitude, profound submission, and the greatest respect, to the last moment of my life,

Madam,

Your majesty's most humble,

Most obedient, and most obliged servant,

HENRY ARNAUD,

Pastor and Colonel of the Vaudois.

PROVINCIA DI TORINO

Drawn by Hugh Dyke Acland.

Engraved by Edwd Finden

LA TOUR & LUCERNE.

FROM THE HEIGHTS ABOVE MARGUERITE.

Published June 1837. by John Murray. London.

PREFACE

BY THE AUTHOR.

The extraordinary courage displayed by the Vaudois in the late war between France and Savoy, as testified by report, by private letters, and public despatches, is such as to compel a recognition of the hand of the Almighty, and of his pleasure that the magnificence of his power should be illustrated by this little band of the faithful.

Report, however, speaks only for a time; and as Europe may be anxious to be more intimately acquainted with this people—their origin—their religion—the persecutions they have suffered—and the firmness with which they have adhered to the genuine faith during the general apostasy of the western churches, it has been thought proper to present this little history to the public.

Doubtless, reader, you will feel surprised that events so remarkable should not have been sooner made public. You will conceive that the notoriety of such illustrious examples of disinterested martyrdom would have been a stimulus to the reformers, and have increased their love and respect for the pure religion they profess. But do not suffer this seemingly unaccountable silence to perplex your mind. Be content to know that it was the result of sound policy, and that the reasons for it have now ceased to exist.

Were I to attempt to satisfy the curiosity which every where exists, but especially in England and Holland, concerning every thing connected with the Vaudois, I should write a much longer history than will now be produced. Their origin, antiquity, creed, mode of worship; the persecutions and massacres undergone at the instigation of idolatrous Rome; their constancy and courage; the inviolable attachment shewn by their poor church to the purity and simplicity of the gospel; and the almost miraculous means by which it has pleased God to preserve them through many wars, and especially those of the latest date: these are, indeed, all of them matters

worthy of attention, but, I repeat, beyond the limits of the present work.

I must content myself with remarking, that the Vaudois inhabit three valleys at the northern extremity of Piémont, viz., those of Luzerne, St. Martin, and Perouse, under the dominion of the Duke of Savoy.

Their proper name, Vallenses, is derived from the Latin word *vallis*, and not, as has been insinuated, from Valdo, a merchant of Lyons, who sold all his substance to purchase the pearl of great price. The valley of Prajelas, or the Clusone, is also inhabited by Vaudois, but subject to the King of France*.

That their religion is as primitive as their name is venerable, is attested even by their adversaries. Regnerus the inquisitor, in a report made by him to the pope on the subject of their faith, expresses himself in these words, "Che sono da tempo immemoriabile," that they have existed from time immemorial. It would not be difficult to prove, that this poor band of the faithful were in the valleys of Piémont more than four centuries before the appearance of

* Now attached to Sardinia. Through it is the pass made by Napoleon over mount Genevre.

those extraordinary personages, Luther, Calvin, and the subsequent lights of the reformation. Neither has their church been ever reformed, whence arises its title of *Evangelic*. The Vaudois are, in fact, descended from those refugees from Italy who, after St. Paul had there preached the gospel, abandoned their beautiful country and fled, like the woman mentioned in the Apocalypse, to these wild mountains, where they have to this day handed down the gospel from father to son in the same purity and simplicity as it was preached by St. Paul.

Their sufferings surpass the power of imagination, as well on account of their duration as their individual cruelty. They are related by Jean Leger in his history, published at Leyden, and are such, that it may be truly said, that were the demons let loose from hell their fury and rage against Christians could not exceed the cruelty of the papists to the Vaudois. But it is of later events that I am to treat. They who wish for more ample information concerning the earlier history of this little flock, may obtain it from Leger, Gilles, and Perrin.

Louis XIV. having driven his most faithful subjects, i. e. the protestants, out of his king-

dom, resolved that his neighbours should do so also, or rather, perhaps, thus sought a pretext for extending his frontiers. He therefore intimated to the Duke of Savoy that his own example was worthy of imitation, and that it was the duty of his royal highness to abolish the church of the Vaudois, and compel them to embrace the Roman catholic religion.

This prince, who was young, and endowed with discernment and prudence, was unwilling to take such measures against subjects who served him loyally; and he strenuously opposed their adoption, till Mons. de Feuquieres hinted that his master would undertake this measure himself with 14,000 men, and would retain the valleys inhabited by these heretics as a recompense for his trouble. This menace produced its effect; for his royal highness, fearful of the interference in his dominions of so powerful a neighbour, issued an edict to the following effect.

The Vaudois were commanded, under pain of death, to raze their churches, and submit their children to the Romish priests for baptism. This poor flock, in their first surprise at so cruel a decree, attempted by repeated supplication to

avert its execution. Finding this measure ineffectual, they resolved, in case of any attack on their lives and liberties for conscience sake, neither to abandon their country, nor desert their worship, but to defend themselves after the example of their forefathers.

Their prince, who neither expected such a resolution, nor was prepared for resistance, and feeling a point of honour at stake, accepted the aid which had been offered by France. The Vaudois put themselves on the defensive, and were attacked on the 23d of April, 1686.

The French, commanded by Mons. de Catinat, were desirous of the honour of striking the first blow; and did so on the side of St. Germain: they had also the honour of being well beaten; for they were dislodged with so much spirit from the positions they had taken up, that they were compelled to seek their safety in flight, pass the Clusone in confusion, without gaining the bridge, and retreat to Pignerol. The number of killed and wounded lost by them in this first action was never known, for they took care to conceal it, and to carry the wounded into the town during the night. It was discovered, however, within a few days, that the regiments of Pro-

vençe, of Dauphiny, of Plessis, and Clerambaud, with the dragoons of Provençe and Lalande, had been severely handled. Yet the Vaudois had only two wounded, and these at the church of St. Germain, into which Mons. de Villevielle had thrown himself with a strong detachment. He knows what that affair cost him, of which there is some account, though it was never published. People may, therefore, be glad to hear that, after the French had been driven from their positions above St. Germain, Mons. de Villevielle saved himself in the church, where he was invested by the Vaudois. Mons. Arnaud, arriving at this moment with a small detachment, gave orders that the church should be scaled, and the tiles from the roof thrown down on the enemy within, while, at the same time, they encompassed it with trenches to conduct water in to drown them. This order was instantly obeyed; but those employed in it being overtaken by the night, its execution was checked, and Mons. de Villevielle and his party made their escape from a window under favour of the darkness.

As the Vaudois beat the French on the first day, so the day following they had the glory of

arresting the progress of the duke's army on the heights of Angrogna.

One would have thought that two such brilliant days would have raised the courage of the victors; but, unhappily, and by a fatality altogether unaccountable, these people, who at first so intrepidly followed the example of their forefathers, who had surmounted thirty-two wars for the sake of the same religion, became suddenly enervated, and with frozen hearts laid down their arms on the third day. Thus was the war at once extinguished, not by the blood of the Vaudois, but by their unexpected submission.

No sooner had these unfortunate people laid down their arms, than they recognised their error. Fourteen thousand persons were thrown into prison, of whom a greater number was destroyed than would have fallen in the rudest war. Eleven thousand souls perished in thirteen prisons from cold or heat, hunger or thirst. Such a destruction may appear incredible; but it is indisputable, that only 3000 saw the light again, and these only to be banished from their property and country.

Yet did this remnant from the fury of their persecutors become the seed which God, in his

mercy, used to replant his truth in the valleys. Their history will here be related from their arrival and refuge in Switzerland to the time when peace was happily re-established between them and their prince. In its progress, reader, you will be made acquainted with events so infinitely admirable that you cannot but believe that the hand of God was with the Vaudois, as with David, Gideon, and Joshua. You will see in how surprising a manner these sheep, scattered and dispersed in every quarter, reunite, as if by divine inspiration, for the purpose of returning to their heritage in opposition to the powerful of the earth. But, lest you hesitate to believe that so wonderful an enterprise could have been undertaken by persons ruined, poor, and in every way destitute, know that in England, Holland, Germany, and Geneva, there exist pious and zealous souls, who, thinking it a service to God and a prop to his true church, contributed out of their riches towards this attempt. And though I know that by publishing his name I shall offend his modesty, yet so vast is the debt of gratitude from the Vaudois to Mons. Clignet, postmaster at Leyden, that I cannot refrain from acknow-

ledging, that without his assistance the affair had been altogether impossible.

And, reader, after having contemplated the many wonders related in this history, you will behold the Vaudois not only in glorious possession of their inheritance and at peace with their sovereign, but nobly defending their prince against France*.

Why then, you will ask, as the Vaudois are in quiet possession of their own country, are so many of them to be found still scattered, like colonies, in foreign countries?

I am anxious, respected reader, to remove from you all suspicions on this head. Know then, that as long as his royal highness felt himself in want of the services of the Vaudois, he overwhelmed them with fair promises, but that as soon as he could dispense with them, he dispensed also with the appearance of kindness to them.

* Victor Amadeus the Second actually took refuge among the Vaudois while Turin, his capital, was besieged by the Duc de Feuillard, and that within six years of the horrible persecution which is related in this work, and was perpetrated by himself.—Ed.

Thus Mons. le Comte de Martianne, governor of Pignerol *, was directed to tender to them all the oath of allegiance, and a promise of perfect tranquillity in their valleys, while, at the same moment, he had in his pocket an order for the banishment of a part of this small body.

In fact, the Duke of Savoy, aware that his honour would be compromised by abruptly driving out of his dominions people who had performed so gallant and important service, and yet jealous of the valour which he had well estimated both in opposition and alliance, sought for some pretext to weaken this little nation. Accordingly he published an edict through the valleys, ordering, on pain of death, all those who were not born within them, to remove from his dominions within two months. Thus did a great prince reward his devoted servants. Exile was their recompense for having repelled his enemies, and for having prevented his own expulsion. Such, I say, is the conduct of the papists towards the faithful in Christ. They use their attachment, fidelity, lives, blood, and property, while they

* Chef lieu de l'arondissement in which the valleys are situated.—Ed.

can devote them to their own interest, and afterwards they glory in not keeping good faith with them. In the face of heaven and earth they openly violate both justice and honour, and consider the faithful as dogs, who, when wearied for their pleasure by the chase, may be turned out to a handful of straw. Beware, then, all you who read this history, of confiding in the promises or flatteries of the papists; since there is nothing so solemn, nothing so sacred, but they will trample it under foot in the course of their ambition or interest. Remember that a thousand years and more, during which the papal arts have been practised against genuine Christianity, are so many loud and piercing trumpets which sound to you a warning whom to distrust.

The Duke of Savoy was resolved on the rigid execution of the edict which I just now mentioned, viz., that these proscribed Vaudois, who had now been domiciliated for forty years in the valleys, and all the inhabitants, of their faith, of the valley of Clusone, who were now become genuine Vaudois by the attachment of Pignerol to his royal highness's dominions, should immediately depart from his territories. Affecting, however, to soften this measure, he gave an order

for provisions to these exiles on their march through Savoy. But no sooner did they, in number of 3000, approach the boundary of Savoy, than they were overtaken by courier upon courier, who demanding to see the order alluded to, carried it back with them from the top of the dreary Mont Cenis.

Who could have imagined, that in order to spare a prince the expense of a little bread, it would have been taken from those who had not spared their blood for him!

These, reader, are the Vaudois whom you still see scattered over foreign countries. In the first place, they obtained refuge in the evangelical cantons, by whose charity and that of England and Holland, they for some time subsisted. At last, through the mediation of Mons. Valkenier, envoy at Zurich from the United Provinces, they obtained grants of land, with certain privileges, from some of the German princes. The principal colony thus formed settled in the duchy of Wirtemberg, the others in the states of the Margraves of Durlach* and Hesse Darmstadt, and of the Count of Hanau, where there still remain

* Now sunk in the duchy of Baden.

fourteen Vaudois churches, which, together with the reformed French church at Canstatt, in Wirtemberg, form a synod.

Seven of the ministers of these churches, and as many schoolmasters, are paid by her Britannic majesty *, to whose generosity Mons. Arnaud owes also a pension, that he may bring up his family with honour. Four others receive salaries from the United Provinces, and the remaining three from their princes and flocks. All the colonies, loaded with benefits, and under the influence of mild legislations, live peaceably, in constant prayer for their benefactors.

Having thus attempted to gratify the curiosity which the mere title of this book may occasion, let us now proceed to the circumstances of the glorious return of these exiles to their valleys. It is trusted, reader, that you will then agree with Mons. Jurieux, the professor at Rotterdam, in his belief, that the two witnesses mentioned in the eleventh chapter of the Apocalypse, as overcome and slain by the beast, are typical of

* Out of an annual pension of 500*l.* applicable to the wants of the ministers and schoolmasters of the Vaudois, which, it is expected, will be speedily re-established by the English government.

these very Vaudois, who contended against the Roman beast for more than 1,100 years. If, indeed, it is affirmed that the woman who fled into the wilderness to avoid the fury of the dragon is the type of this poor church, who has dwelt in the mountains, and there been nourished of God for a time, and times, and half a time, it may equally be typified in the two resuscitated witnesses. For it was at the end of three *years* and a half, the just time interpreted from the eastern and scriptural allegory of three *days* and a half, that this church having been as it were dead, and its doctrines and services extinct in the valleys, its professors again entered on their native soil and re-established the gospel in its purity.

HISTORY,

&c.

CHAPTER I.

Containing some account of the Vaudois from the period of their expulsion from their country to that of the disembarkation of the Eight Hundred on the Savoy side of the Lake of Geneva.

The history now presented to the public is so wonderful in all its details that their bare recital, without the aid of art, will produce an ample interest in the reader.

I shall be content, then, to report them in order and with strict fidelity. This could not be done by those persons who, carried away by avidity for profit, have published accounts with a precipitation attended (as it always is) by imperfection and error. The following statement has been drawn up from the notes taken by

those who had the chief direction of the affairs it relates.

The name of "Vaudois" designates a handful of persons who inhabit the valleys of Piémont; and from these valleys the name is derived, as has been unquestionably proved by Jean Leger in the first part of his history, published thirty years ago. Their constant opposition to the court of Rome had made them notorious under this name in the earliest part of the twelfth century. They could not, therefore, derive it from Valdo the reformer, who was not known till about 1170.

Their history is a series of persecutions by the ecclesiastical tribunals, or of attacks by armed forces. Yet of all the wars, thirty-three in number, sustained on their part with much conduct and valour, the last was undoubtedly the most violent and deplorable: for by this they were expelled from their abodes, an effect which none of their former shocks could produce. Their numbers, indeed, had been sadly diminished, partly by massacre, and partly by proscription: for no peace was ever granted to them which did not add to the previous loss, by the sword, a farther one by banishment, by

retrenchment of territory, and abrogation of rights.

I shall not dilate on the conduct of the persecuting powers, but be content with stating that the one has always excused itself by the plea of compulsion by the other; in support of which a manifesto has lately been published. Nor shall I dwell on the ejection of the Vaudois from their hearths, an account of which is already in possession of the public *.

The able author has exposed the cruelties by which 14,000 Vaudois, imprisoned in violation of the written promise of a prince of the house of Savoy, were reduced to a remnant of 3,000, who, more like spectres than men, were at last released by his royal highness of Savoy, and allowed to retire to Switzerland only in virtue of a treaty with the protestant cantons. He has also so feelingly painted the arrival of these moving skeletons at Geneva, that I feel grateful for being spared a description which I could not have dwelt on without abandoning myself too much to grief. And the more so, when I pic-

* The editor believes the work alluded to, to be that of Boyer. It is translated and abridged by a person of quality. 2d edition, London, 1692.

ture to myself the joy of those who recovered their relations, contrasted to the feelings of those who learnt the death of the objects most dear to them, from the parties that arrived from day to day at the bridge of the Arve. The Genevese vied with each other in taking to their houses the most wretched of these exiles, and carried many of them in their arms from the frontier, where they went to meet them. Some arrived only to die, and others scarcely in time to be susceptible of assistance. These were put in a state to follow their countrymen who had previously been recovered, and who, after being clothed according to their wants, had already proceeded to Switzerland in performance, on their part, of a treaty, many articles of which had been violated towards them.

Let us now follow them a little among the protestant cantons, where they had all arrived in February, 1687. The Swiss, who had procured their liberation, now afforded them sustenance. The greater number of them were spread among the towns and villages of the canton of Berne, where they had abundant reason for content, if they could have forgotten their birthplace. But, not valuing life unless spent

PROVINCIA DI TORINO

Drawn by Hugh Dyke Acland.

Engraved by Edwd Finden.

LAUSANNE.

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where it was received, they resolved, whatever might be the penalty, to return thither. Three times they made the attempt, and though the last only was effectual, I shall briefly mention the former, especially as their failure nearly destroyed all hopes of success for the future.

With respect to the first, made, as it was, tumultuously and at hazard, almost without arms, and totally without chiefs, arrangement, or the privity of their protectors, its failure is by no means astonishing. This occurred at Lausanne, the bailiff of which place prevented their embarkation at Ouchy, and ordered them, on the part of their excellencies of Berne, to return each to his own home. This first attempt attracted but little attention; not so, however, the second, which led much nearer to a conclusive result.

The first measure taken by these good people was to send three persons to reconnoitre the country. One was a native of the valley of St. Martin; another of the valley of Quayras; and the third of that of the Cluson or Prajelas. These men were ordered to discover the most retired passes over the highest mountains, in order to cross the rivers near their sources.

They were also to endeavour to induce those of their countrymen who might still be hovering near the valleys to provide and conceal bread, which is there baked to the hardness of biscuits *.

The messengers were fortunate enough in going, but less so in their return. For two of them, being suspected to be robbers, were arrested in a wild part of the Tarentaise, and examined as to their motives in avoiding the ordinary roads. They answered, that they were dealers in lace; and as they knew that much was made in that country, were going about from place to place to purchase it. Plausible as this answer might appear, it did not exempt them from a strict search. A few sheets of white paper were found on them, which increased suspicion. These were exposed to fire, but no writing was discovered. Some lace was then submitted to their inspection, which test of their knowledge in that way proved nearly fatal to them: for the native of Prajelas offered six crowns for a piece of lace not worth three. This so confirmed the castellain, and other in-

* The bread known in Piémont by the name of *glises*.

habitants of the place, in the notion that they were spies or robbers, that they were stripped of their money, thrown into prison, and interrogated in all the forms of justice. Still they persisted in their first story; and the native of Quayras, who had actually carried a pack in Languedoc, stated that he could give a good account of the places in that province; and, among others, of Montpelier and Lunel. Upon this, a person of the same profession, who had often been in those places, was sent for; and as he affirmed that all the prisoner said of them was true, our three Vaudois were released after a week's confinement; but their money, to the amount of ten crowns, was not restored.

The report of these men being considered favourable, both as to the possession of their country by foreigners, and as to passes over mountains hitherto deemed impracticable, the directors of the Vaudois held a council, at which it was resolved to make a second attempt. It was agreed that it should be made through Le Valais and by Mount St. Bernard. The rendezvous was fixed in the plain of Bex, a village at the extremity of the canton of Berne, and at a

small league's distance from St. Maurice, a little town of Le Valais.

They attempted to reach this spot without being discovered. For this purpose they marched by night, and by different roads. They could not, however, escape the vigilance of their excellencies of Zurich, Berne, and Geneva. At the latter place the discovery was caused by the desertion of sixty Vaudois, who were serving in the Genevese garrison, and who withdrew to the Pays de Vaud. The communications between these cities on the subject of this new attempt prevented the Vaudois from receiving in due time a boat laden with arms, which was to have landed near Villeneuve, a little town at the upper end of the lake of Geneva and not far from Le Valais. As soon as the report of this new enterprise reached the Savoyards and inhabitants of Le Valais, they lighted their signal fires, put themselves on the defensive, and posted a strong guard on the bridge of St. Maurice; over which the Vaudois must necessarily pass, unless they crossed the Rhone below it. This they would have attempted if boats could have been procured.

While these poor Vaudois, not exceeding six or seven hundred in number, were yet deliberating on the best measure to be adopted in this painful dilemma, they were visited by Mr. Frederic Toronan, bailiff and governor of Aigle. He ordered them to assemble in the church, and there delivered to them a most edifying address. He exhorted them to patience, and told them, with tears in his eyes, that God would not forget the poor Vaudois, but would infallibly lead them back into their own country at some future period, in approval of their zeal to re-establish religion where it had never before been extinct. At the same time he skilfully pointed out the rashness, and even madness, of persisting in such an enterprise after it had got wind. Thus he partially raised their spirits, which were completely restored by Mr. Arnaud, their pastor and chief of the expedition, in an exposition of the short verse of the 12th chapter of St. Luke: "Fear not, little flock," &c.

This generous bailiff, having made them comprehend that God hath his own time, conducted them to Aigle, where he distributed bread and lodgings to them, charging himself with Mr. Arnaud and the principal officers; and to fill up

the measure of his humanity, he lent 200 crowns to assist on their journey those who had to return to the distant parts of Switzerland.

This humane and gentle treatment made the Vaudois more sensible of the harshness of the inhabitants of Vevay. The council of this town, not content with prohibiting the Vaudois from entering its walls, or lodging in its vicinity, issued an order, enforced by a heavy penalty, that no one should procure them provisions. This they learnt from a widow, who, in spite of the edict, and at the risk of having her house pulled down, supplied the Vaudois with food in a meadow on which they had encamped. It is true, that this inhumanity on the part of the citizens of Vevay was but in compliance with a superior mandate*; the political object of which was to compel the Vaudois, by necessity, to retire from the frontier. Yet it would be difficult to remove an opinion generally entertained, that Vevay was punished for this act, by heaven, with a fire, which, shortly after, destroyed almost the whole town, without damage to the house of the charitable widow, though in the centre of the conflagration.

* From Berne.

The failure of this second attempt, which was made in June, 1688, was doubly prejudicial to the Vaudois. For the Duke of Savoy, thus rendered aware of their intention, and of their power of putting into execution any plan which they had well digested, was no longer satisfied with the "corps de garde" which occupied all the roads, under the command of his officers of militia. These were stationed principally in the environs of Geneva, (e. g.) at St. Julien, Lançy, Tremblieres, Chene, and Belle Rive. The whole of the eastern coast of the lake was also lined by them. But the duke now ordered two regiments of 1000 strong, into the Chablais district, commanded by officers of high birth and merit. The Comte de Bernex, of the house of Rossillon, commanded the regiment of Chablais, and the Marquess of Caudrée, of the house of Alinges, that of Montserrat. The latter officer had also the rank of major-general, "marechal de camp," or, as it is termed in Piémont, general of battle. These troops were followed up by some dragoons, at which the republic of Geneva took umbrage, and reinforced its garrison.

The second inconvenience, which attached to the Vaudois from this abortive attempt, was the

pretext afforded by it to their prince to quarrel with the Bernois, whom he accused of bad faith, in favouring an attempt to invade his states. The Bernois were so indignant at a reproach thus affecting their honour, and fidelity in observance of treaties, that their guests became offensive to them; and they proposed, in order to remove such suspicion from the Duke of Savoy, to expel the Vaudois from their territories. The citizens of Zurich partook of this feeling of indignation, and convoked an assembly of the evangelical cantons at Arau. To this meeting the Vaudois of the greatest consideration were summoned, and informed that they would no longer be borne with, and were therefore ordered to withdraw, with the rest of their people, from the cantons in which they resided. The Vaudois were not a little surprised at this order; for, during two months which had elapsed since the failure of their enterprise, the Swiss had continued to provide them with subsistence; and their excellencies of Berne had even offered them the islands on the lakes of Yverdun and Morat to inhabit and cultivate as their own. A proposal was made to them to emigrate to Brandenbourg, to which they objected the great di-

stance; an objection from which the true state of their feelings, and their unconquerable desire to return to their own country, was justly inferred.

To overcome an obstinacy which was thought dangerous, an order was issued, that all the Vaudois in the canton of Berne should depart within a fixed period. They obeyed; and, passing through the capital, had the satisfaction to discover, that the harsh tone adopted towards them was the result only of state policy: for they were not only much caressed, but received money from the secretary of the city, when they embarked, on the Aar, to seek the territories of Zurich and Schaffhausen, and, ultimately, spots still more remote, as opportunity might arise.

The country of Wirtemberg was not far distant from the places to which they had been ordered, and appeared well calculated for their residence, being fertile both in pasturage and vineyard. They therefore sent three deputies to the Duke Frederick Charles, who was at that time administrator, uncle, and guardian of the present reigning prince, the Duke Eberhard Louis. They found his royal highness and his

council disposed to bestow all they asked; and, in fact, some lands were granted to them.

The Vaudois, however, whose object was to keep united in a body, finding that this would not be allowed them, implored the cantons of Zurich and Schaffhausen to permit them to pass their winter quarters in those territories.

The intercession of the ministers of other cantons, and of some Genevese, contributed not a little to procure this permission: nor was their cause injured by the large sums collected for them in England and Holland. From the latter country alone were derived 92,000 crowns; and his most serene highness the Prince of Orange, who has since so gloriously become king of Great Britain, sent Mr. de Couvenant to make a just and economical distribution of that sum.

Here was ample provision for the nourishment and maintenance of these poor exiles; but the question of finding them fixed abodes was always agitated, nor could it be easily resolved. The power, liberality, and offers of his late Electoral Highness of Brandenbourg at length determined the Swiss cantons and all those who participated in their interest for the Vaudois, to propose to

them again that they should depart for the frontiers of Brandenbourg, and take possession of the lands which were offered to them on very advantageous terms.

Some of the Vaudois had already visited that country, and described it as very distant, and highly inconvenient both as to language and climate, which is in fact very different from their own. The consequence was, that notwithstanding all the favours of the late Elector of Brandenbourg, they at last openly declared, to the authorities who communicated with them on the part of the canton of Zurich, that they could not resolve to undertake the journey.

So obstinate a refusal was imputed to waywardness, or at least to an ill-timed nicety. They were therefore treated without ceremony, or rather with rudeness, and few sermons were preached without allusion to their case. Prepared, as they were, by the manner in which they had been already pressed, for extreme severity, this conduct produced no effect on them. The Swiss were scandalised by the want of complaisance in these poor people, shown in their refusal of so advantageous an offer, provoked by their obstinacy, and resolute, moreover, in not

them that they must absolutely remove from the cantons, and find for themselves places of abode, as in refusing to accompany their countrymen, they had rejected those which had been, with so much trouble, procured for them.

The Vaudois, seeing that it must be so, determined on departing each on his own way. It is true, that they were strongly inclined to slip back on the side of Geneva, but, as the magistrates of this prudent republic had taken measures against this step, they were forced to spread about the Grisons, the frontier of Wirtemberg, and some parts of the Palatinate which were assigned to them by order of the Elector, Philip William of Neuberg, who was then living, and anxious to repeople his desolated territory.

It now seemed that these poor wanderers had at last found what they were in search of, and that their only care would be to settle themselves comfortably. But their views were far different. Mons. Arnaud lost no time in proceeding to Holland with a Vaudois captain, Batiste Besson of St. Jean, to communicate with the Prince of Orange, afterwards king of Great Britain, and some other noblemen who had the interests of the Vaudois at heart. This prince, of glorious

memory, having learnt, in an audience granted to Mons. Arnaud, that the Vaudois persisted in their design to re-enter their valleys, commended their zeal and piety, and exhorted him to keep them together, that so ancient a church might not be lost by separation. He recommended yet a little patience to the deputies, animated their courage, and gave to them the means of returning to their own people.

It would seem that Providence, who preserved this little flock for an example of wonders that will be related hereafter, was unwilling to lead it to a country where it could remain. In fact, they were scarcely beginning to be settled before the train of proceedings between the dukes of Orleans and Neubourg compelled them to seek their safety in flight, lest they should fall victims to the French, from whose fury they had already too severely suffered. Thus they at once resigned the estates and privileges granted them by the Elector Palatine, and the offers of the Duke of Wirtemberg, who would have employed the effective, and supported the remainder. But the question was, where to retreat. To advance into Germany would, on account of the incumbrance of their families, be to fall a certain prey

to those from whom they were fleeing. In this dilemma they determined, as though by the inspiration of God, to seek their former asylum in Switzerland. And here it may be proper to reflect on the wonderful means by which God restored the Vaudois to their inheritance, in permitting the French, who had driven them out of it, to force them into the way of recovering it.

This new disaster in a country where they had hardly surmounted the discouraging difficulties always attendant upon a settlement on a new soil, increased by the disappointment of resigning to their enemy the harvest sowed with the sweat of their brows, so touched the heart of the Swiss, that, forgetting the disagreements which had occurred, they again received the Vaudois with open arms.

Mons. Speyseiger, a secretary, and Mr. Daude, a minister and refugee from Languedoc, made a most pathetic appeal in their behalf to the citizens of Schaffhausen; insomuch that the latter authorised Mons. Speyseiger to represent to the other cantons the smallness of theirs, and to request that they would receive a part of the Vaudois. This representation, backed by one from

Zurich, induced the canton of Berne to follow their example, and once more to extend their christian charity to the Vaudois.

Behold them now scattered over different parts of protestant Switzerland, gaining a livelihood by their labour, principally with the peasants, and always inoffensively.

It may here be remarked to their credit, that during the whole of their exile from the valleys not a complaint was made against them of bad conduct, with the exception, that one of their soldiers carried off a musket from his master at Zurich. But no sooner was this circumstance known to their principal persons, than the musket was sent back to its owner. Having now time for reflection, they recognised, in the misfortune of having been so long tossed about, a judgment for their inclination to forget their country: and conceiving that God had permitted this affliction only to make them better understand that they should never find rest but in their own houses, they resolved forthwith to re-enter them, cost what it might. This resolution was strengthened by the account of the spies, whom they had sent more than a year before, and also by the knowledge that the Duke of

Savoy had recalled the troops from this side of the mountains since the spring of 1669, either because he no longer feared the Vaudois, who were farther removed, or because he was in want of his forces to quell the Mondovians, who, according to their laudable custom, had again revolted.

The great and happy revolution which took place in England confirmed them in this resolution. They saw that their avowed protector, the Prince of Orange, having been invited to that kingdom to re-establish, by one of the most noble and heroic enterprises ever undertaken, the power of the trampled laws, had been proclaimed king of Great Britain. The natural antipathy between this new king and the king of France; the zeal of the former for the protestant church, which looked up to him as her chief protector; his obligations to the powers which had favoured his accession to the crown, promised, and soon effected, a rupture between England and France. This event was justly considered, by the Vaudois, so pregnant with important occupation for Louis XIV., that their return to the valleys would no longer be matter for his attention. They resolved, therefore, to

take advantage of this indifference on the part of their most implacable enemy.

Their chiefs, aware that want of secresy had been fatal to their former attempts, determined to remedy this error. Thus Savoy might remain unguarded, and Berne, in its ignorance, be prevented from being an obstacle to their departure, and at the same time justified from any reproach, by the Duke of Savoy, of privity to their measures. And so well did they succeed, that all their force was in march, without any knowledge, on the part of the subordinate individuals, of the object immediately in view.

Their rendezvous was in a large forest in the Pays de Vaud, called the Wood of Nion, between the town of that name and Rolle. A place well adapted for their purpose; secresy being insured by the nature of the ground, provisions by the abundant neighbourhood, and facility of embarkation by its vicinity to the lake.

The greater part had now arrived safely at this rendezvous, and were only waiting for some comrades, who could not indeed be expected to arrive so soon, as they had to come from the extremities of Switzerland, from Wirtemberg, and from the Grisons, and therefore ran more

risk of being discovered. And in fact they were so. For some suspicious reports having reached Mons. le Comte de Cassati, ambassador from Spain to the Cantons, he immediately communicated them to Mons. le Comte de Govon, envoy of the Duke of Savoy. This nobleman instituted so strict an inquiry, that he discovered, on their route, 122 of these unfortunate people, comprising some strangers ignorant of the plot, who shared, however, the same fate as the rest. Not only was their money, to the amount of 500 crowns, taken from them, but they were stript, bound, and marched to Turin, under every species of insult and cruelty, through the popish countries which lay on their way. Being ultimately imprisoned, we must leave them to languish for many miserable months, till their delivery was effected by the wonderful events which will terminate this history.

Their companions, to the number of eight or nine hundred, whom we left waiting in the forest of Nions, ignorant of what had taken place, weary of delay, and fearful of discovery, determined on crossing the lake. And it was indeed time; for a whisper was already afloat that there were persons concealed in the forest. This

apparently untoward report was, by divine grace, highly favourable to them. For, many wagers being laid that this mystery would be solved by some new enterprise of the Vaudois, many persons were led by curiosity to visit the suspected places in boats. The Vaudois, who had only four small boats, a number obviously insufficient for their transportation, seized on this additional supply, amounting to ten more, and having joined in prayer offered up by Mr. Arnaud, now called Mons. de la Tour, they embarked between nine and ten o'clock of the night of Friday the 16th of August, 1689.

It happened that the day before a general fast had been observed throughout protestant Switzerland, a circumstance which contributed not a little to their uninterrupted passage over the lake. One insidious, but abortive, attempt to frustrate this undertaking was alone known to have been made. A Mons. Prangin, son of the late Mons. de Baltazar, who had bought an estate near Nions, attracted by the general curiosity, happened to hear Mons. Arnaud's prayer. Like another Judas, he immediately hastened, during the rest of the night, to Geneva, and informed the French resident of what he had witnessed,

who went instantly to Lyons and ordered off a party of dragoons in an ineffectual pursuit of the exiles. Their first trip across the lake was fortunate. They landed between Nernier and Ivoire, with no other accident than the separation, by a squall of wind, of their boats, which proved the means of their falling in with one from Geneva with eighteen of their countrymen. But when they sent back the boats for those who could not cross the first time, they had the misfortune to see all the boatmen but three, though paid in advance, take flight. This obliged them to leave behind more than two hundred of their men, as immediate departure from a spot so exposed to danger was imperative. They had the farther disappointment to find that many good men, who were brought by the boats which had remained faithful, would not proceed unless they were provided with arms; and also of learning that many others who left Lausanne on the night of the 15th, had been arrested, and released too late to arrive in time for the embarkation.

I shall not enter into the motives which led the boatmen to use the Vaudois in this manner; but fear of loss of life if they were caught in

Savoy, and of ill treatment if they were detected in Switzerland, probably contributed towards it.

I can well imagine the reader's impatience to know the result of a measure in which we find a handful of Vaudois, disembarked in an hostile state, with the resolution of traversing it sword in hand, of recovering their native country, and replanting in it the true church of Christ, in opposition to all the arts of papacy supported by the armies of two powerful princes.

And as every act in the attainment of an object apparently impracticable by so small a number of persons is in itself extraordinary, I shall now report with the greatest fidelity what happened from day to day.

CHAPTER II.

Containing an account of ten days' march over the Alps, at the end of which the Vaudois found themselves once more on native ground.

FIRST DAY.

Mons. Arnaud having, with fourteen others, set foot on the eastern shore of the lake of Geneva, immediately planted sentries at every avenue, and then applied himself to put his force into order as it disembarked. When all had arrived, they were formed into one corps, the command of which was to have been intrusted to an inhabitant of Neufchatel, named Bourgeois. He failed, however, at the rendezvous, for reasons which shall not be mentioned here, as enough will be said of him in another place. This corps was divided into nineteen companies, of which six were composed of foreigners*, chiefly from Languedoc and Dauphiné,

* Protestant exiles from France, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes.—Ed.

and the other from the different communes of the Vaudois, as follows:

	Companies.	Captains.
Angrogua -	3	Laurent Buffe, Etienne Frasche, and Michel Bertin.
St. Jean -	2	Bellion and Besson.
La Tour -	1	Paul Pelline.
Bobi -	2	Martinat and Moudon *.
Prarustin -	1	Daniel Odin.
St. Germain and Pranrol	1	Robert.
Macelle -	1	Philippe Tronc Poulat,
Prali -	1	Peirot.
Foreign -	6	Martin, Privat, Lucas, Turel, Tonfrede, and Chien.

And as there were still many soldiers who objected to fall into any of these companies, they were formed into an extra corps of volunteers.

The whole was divided into three bodies, avant guard, rear guard, and centre, according to the system of regular troops, which the Vaudois always pursued. Besides Mons. Arnaud, whom they termed their patriarch, there were

* The grandson of the latter is now pastor of St. Germain, and shows with infinite and just pride a spot near Rocheplatte, where his ancestor gained a memorable advantage over a superior French force, after the Vaudois were reconciled to their prince.—Ed.

two other ministers, Mons. Cyrus Chion, formerly minister of the church of Pont-a-Royan, in Dauphiné, and Mr. Montoux, of Prajelas, who had served the church of Chambons, in his own country, and afterwards that of Coire, in the Grisons, where he had left his family when he followed the fortunes of his countrymen.

Having taken such human precautions for their safety, they invoked the succour of the Most High; praying that he would take charge of their undertaking. After this, the minister Chion went to the first village to obtain a guide; but a Savoyard horseman, who had discovered our people, gave the alarm, and the minister was taken prisoner and sent to Chambery, where he remained till peace was concluded between the Duke of Savoy and our Vaudois. The same horseman rode towards our men, pistol in hand, and was immediately met by Mons. Arnaud and the Sieur Turel with six fusileers; but he displayed such expertness in performing "la volte face*," that he escaped a shot fired at him, while running away.

It being then evident that alarm was general,

* Wheeling about.

PROVINCIA DI TORINO

and that there was no time to lose, some officers and twelve privates were sent to Ivoire, to persuade the inhabitants to lay down their arms and grant a passage.

The inhabitants understanding that a refusal would expose them to the perils of sword and fire, granted all that was required of them; but did not the less omit to light up their beacon, which might have entailed on them the performance of the threat, had not the Vaudois, by good luck for them, been in a disposition to admit of the proffered excuse, "that some children had done it in mistake." As a condition, however, of pardon for this offence, the castellain and a garde du sel * were required to perform the office of guides; but they were sent back after half a league's march.

Hostages were then secured in the persons of the castellain of Nernier and the sieurs of Caudrées and Fora, gentlemen of the country; these also were soon released, as the Vaudois would commit no breach of humanity, so long as resistance was not offered. They observed,

* An officer corresponding to an English exciseman. The trade in salt in that country being under the control of the government for its own benefit.—Ed.

in fact, so strict a discipline, that the peasantry and their curés came out to see them pass by, and could not help blessing them, and hailing them with a "God go with you." The curé of Filli even opened his cellar to them, and would receive no payment.

Shortly afterwards some Savoyard gentlemen, well mounted and armed, rode towards this little army, till they were checked by the avant guard. They then demanded the order by which the Vaudois were marching under arms. They were answered, that it was not their business to ask for this order; and that the reason for this appearance under arms was well known by every body. These gentlemen, indignant at this reply, commanded the avant guard to lay down their arms: but no sooner had these words escaped them, than they saw the main body approaching. They then suddenly changed their tone, and ordering some peasants who were with them to fall back, would have taken flight themselves, had they not been stopped, and obliged to alight and walk at the head of the Vaudois troop. This was only done to make them repent of their rashness in ordering the surrender of arms. The Vaudois now ascended a hill, where they found

themselves opposed by 200 armed peasants. A detachment was ordered to their pursuit, while the main body defiled in the wood to discover if there was any ambuscade. The peasants, commanded by Mons. Gropel, a quarter-master in the army of his royal highness, and the Sieur Mouche, castellain of Boëge, made no great resistance. Their arms and drums were broken, and some of them taken as guides, under the threat of being hung from the nearest tree if they did not acquit themselves faithfully. One of the commanders was also detained, in order that he might bear witness that no disorder was committed on the march. This gentleman made an offer of refreshment as they passed by his house, which was not listened to, partly from want of confidence, and partly from fear of delay. As it was expected that the whole country would assume a hostile appearance, this person was obliged to write a letter to the following purpose.

"These persons (the Vaudois) have arrived here to the number of 2000*. They have begged us to accompany them, that we may be enabled

* An artifice to create fear.—Ed.

to give an account of their behaviour, which we can assure you to be perfectly reasonable. They pay for every thing they take, and only require a free passage. We therefore entreat you not to sound the alarm bells, nor beat the drums, and to dismiss your men if they are under arms."

This letter, signed by this gentleman and others, was sent to Viu, and produced a very good effect; for on the rest of this day's march the inhabitants emulated each other in supplying the wants of the Vaudois. The peasants were every where ordered to lay aside their arms, and to supply horses and waggons to carry the baggage; and these orders were executed with so much promptitude, that our travellers met with no delay. However, as acts of individual transgression can never be prevented, a peasant shot at a Vaudois soldier, but missed him. The soldier pursued him and made him prisoner. On the other hand, a Vaudois killed a peasant, as he was running away under arms. Among those who attempted to escape, but were taken, was a Dominican friar, or hermit of the Ouarons, or Voirons, as it is pronounced. He had a

dagger under his cassock: but proved an useful mediator on the march.

As night came on, they stopped near Viu, a little town of Fouçigni, to which the letter that I have mentioned had been sent, and released one of the gentlemen who could not well support the fatigue of walking. After they had halted long enough to give time to the inhabitants to disperse, in case they had assembled under arms, they entered at twilight; and, having obtained refreshments for money, departed again two hours after the moon had risen. After an hour's march they were overtaken by the night, and the hostages were desired to write another note to the town of St. Joyre, through which they had to pass. On their arrival at this place, instead of opposition, they met with a most friendly reception from the inhabitants, who crowded to see them; and the magistrates even ordered a cask of wine into the middle of the street to be used by the soldiers at their discretion. Some partook of this hospitality, while others abstained from a suspicion of poison. Leaving this place, they crossed some shelving ground till they came to a little hill, where they

halted in an open plain called Carman. It was midnight, and rainy; yet it was resolved to wait for day-break, in order that their strength might be recruited by a little rest and sleep, before they crossed the river at Marni, where they feared that the bridge had been cut away. Here they released the hostages taken at Boëge, and replaced them with two brothers of the name of Georges.

SECOND DAY.

On the 16th of August, which was Sunday, the Vaudois found the bridge of Marni in a good state; and, passing it without resistance, entered a pleasant little valley, which the peasants had deserted, and which afforded some fruit. About ten in the morning they approached Cluses, a pretty fortified town on the river Arve, through which it was absolutely necessary to pass. The inhabitants, however, had armed and lined the trenches; while the peasants, who had descended from the mountains, loaded the Vaudois with abuse; who, advancing within musket-

shot under an incessant rain, determined to force the passage.

At the same time Mons. de Fova heard some one say, that, in case of resistance, it would be necessary to kill the hostages; and being alarmed for his own safety, requested permission to write to the principal persons of the town. This he did, and represented his own danger, as well as the peaceable conduct of the Vaudois wherever they were not opposed.

At the moment that this letter was put in the hands of a messenger, the Chevalier des Rides, Mons. de la Charbonniere, and Mons. de Lochen, gentlemen of distinction, came out of the town to capitulate. The two first were detained; and at their request the latter was sent back with a Vaudois officer. When he arrived in the town, the order for march was demanded from this officer, who sternly answered, "that it was on the point of their swords."

The inhabitants now saw that the affair was serious, and without farther hesitation granted the passage, on condition that the Vaudois should go straight through, and pay for their provisions. The town was then traversed through a lane of

the armed inhabitants. Mons. Arnaud perceiving that there was no guard at the gates, set one at that by which the Vaudois defiled, for the purpose of greater security. In the mean time, Mons. de la Rochette came forward and invited some of the officers to dine with him. They, however, declined his invitation; but leading him insensibly out of the town, told him that they expected five hundred weight of bread and five charges of wine to be sent to them within half an hour. He wrote a note on the spot to his father, who instantly sent a cask of wine and as much bread as was wanted. The delay occasioned by this arrival of provisions being thought by some to be prejudicial, they threw the cask into the river, to the great displeasure of those who were well disposed to quench their thirst. Mons. de la Tour (i. e. Mons. Arnaud) paid five louis d'or to the inhabitants, with which they appeared well satisfied.

While the Vaudois were refreshing themselves, they observed some children running towards Salenche, a small mercantile town, and the capital of the district of Fouçigni; and suspecting that it was with a view to give information of their approach, they compelled the young

messengers to return. When the order was given to march, Mons. de la Rochette and Mons. de Rides expressed a wish to be set at liberty under pretext of going to mass; but were not permitted to do so. The valet of the former gentleman being observed to mix with the troop, some suspicion was excited against him; and, in fact, on searching him, letters were found from Mons. de la Rochette (the father) to the chief persons of Salenche. In these letters was an exhortation to arms, and a direction to attack the Vaudois in front, while the people of Cluses would do so on the rear.

Expecting opposition, and resolved on defence, the Vaudois defiled along a very narrow valley, hemmed in by lofty mountains, where a whole army might be stopped with stones; and this the more easily at that time, when the Arve, swollen by frequent rains, left scarcely room enough for the road. In the middle of this pass they came upon a village and castle called Maglan. The peasants were under arms, but contented themselves with being idle spectators of the march. Mons. de Loche, seigneur of the district, notwithstanding his affected civility to the officers, was obliged to proceed with

them; but to console him his curé accompanied him. On this occasion they affected to march in confusion, in order that their numbers might not be counted. A horseman at speed was now seen on the opposite side of the river, whose errand was justly presumed to be that of announcing the approach of our Vaudois to the people of Salenche. In order to arrive at this place, the possession of a large wooden bridge was necessary.

Here it was that, in the ensuing year, Lieutenant-Colonel Mallet, with one battalion of protestants (religionnaires) stopped short the army of Mons. de St. Ruth.

When within a hundred yards from the bridge, which they expected to be disputed, the officers formed their men into platoons, to one of which were consigned the hostages, among whom were at least twenty persons of consideration. An order to put them to death, in case the Savoyards should fire, was given rather with a view to intimidate the enemy, than any intention that it should be put into execution. While they were forming in order of attack, three captains, with an escort of six privates, were despatched with orders to request a free passage through the town. On their way they met six

of the chief persons of the place on horseback, who immediately fled; but our soldiers were so quick upon their heels that they caught one of them and brought him away. When the rest saw that their comrade was taken, they returned and came boldly to us. They proved to be Mons. de Carmillon, Mons. de Cartan, chief syndic of the town, Mons. Fontaine, the castellain, and the Sieurs Bergerat and St. Amour. Mons. de Cartan represented that the question of a free passage was too important to be decided on by them alone, and that they must therefore return and assemble in council to deliberate on it. It was finally agreed that half an hour should be granted for consideration, but that at the expiration of it the bridge should be stormed.

These gentlemen soon returned, and said that the time granted was insufficient for determining on such a proposition; and perceiving that the Vaudois were not in humour to be kept waiting till more force should be collected against them, were about to return. The Sieurs St. Amour and Fontaine were, however, requested very civilly to dismount and augment the number of hostages. This compliment was not to their

taste, so they begged that one of them might be sent into the town with some other, to point out to the inhabitants the danger they were in. The Vaudois could indeed have easily forced their way without waiting for all these parleys; but as they had resolved, as good Christians, to spare human blood as long as it was possible, and as it was their policy to reserve their strength for occasions when the exertion of it should be indispensable, they were willing to make one more attempt. With this view they allowed one of these gentlemen and another hostage to depart, under condition of bringing back immediately a decided answer. But instead of seeing them return, they heard the sound of the alarum bell, and saw 600 armed men take up a position near the bridge.

Our champions now conceiving that they must cut their way with their swords, formed several small detachments, two of which advanced to the charge at the moment that four capuchins came forward from their opponents. As christian charity induced a belief that soldiers of that sort seek peace rather than war, they were honourably received. They came, they said, as plenipotentiaries from the town, to offer a pass-

age on condition that the hostages and horses were released. They offered, at the same time, to replace them with two of the principal inhabitants. This proposal to give up hostages of distinction, who, under the influence of fear for their own lives, had paralysed all attempts at hostility wherever they had passed, appeared at first highly objectionable. On the other hand, the Vaudois considered that two more were offered to them, and that chance might give them possession of others; they therefore accepted the proposal. However, when the two hostages were brought to them they found that, instead of syndics, as they had been promised, two pitiable wretches were delivered to them. Indignant at this shameful fraud, Mons. Arnaud advanced with the intention of detaining the capuchins. His countenance seemed to betray his intention; for so cleverly did the good friars tuck up their gowns for a race, that two only were secured. These demanded why they were thus arrested contrary to the law of nations, which did not allow of the capture of persons treating of capitulation. They were answered, that it was because, in degradation of their profession and character, they had deceived the Vaudois,

and unnecessarily lied, in offering the miller as the syndic; and with this answer for payment, they were enrolled in the number and company of the hostages.

It must be owned, to their honour, that they were of the greatest assistance. For, whenever a free passage was wanted, their remonstrances, intercessions, and prayers, with any who wished to dispute it, were always so efficacious, that the Vaudois were more than ever astonished at the power these good fathers possessed over the minds of those of their own religion. I leave to the reader to determine, whether the zeal they thus manifested emanated from fear, or a sound christian motive.

To return to the bridge in question, the capitulation being now void, a detachment was marched forward, which passed it without opposition, and lined it with forty soldiers for the security of the main body. When they had all crossed, they formed in line of battle close to the hedges, behind which the inhabitants had drawn themselves up. The latter, however, did not fire, but, on the contrary, fearing that their town might be burned, sent back two Vaudois soldiers whom they had seized. Our people thus

advanced quietly, and, after a tortuous route, arrived at the village of Cablau, where they halted for the night.

The repose so necessary after a long march over bad roads and in incessant rain, was but incomplete; for neither could they procure provisions to allay hunger, nor fire by which they might dry themselves. Yet, drenched and fatigued, this poor flock had reason to be grateful for the rain, as the means of preventing a pursuit of which they had abundant cause to be in continual fear.

THIRD DAY.

If on Monday the 19th the Vaudois were no longer disturbed by the motions of the people of Clure, Maglaw, and Salenches, they were not a little alarmed when they learned the difficult nature of the day's journey before them, for they had to cross two of the rudest mountains of Savoy; on which account they purchased a good stock of wine at the nearest village.

Early in the morning the trumpets were

sounded, and, as soon as they were collected, their fire-arms were discharged for the purpose of re-loading them. Proceeding on their march, they passed through several deserted villages, till they came to a little town called Migeves, or Beaufort. Here the inhabitants were under arms; but as they offered no resistance, the Vaudois created no disorder. Having passed through this place they gained the summit of the mountain, where they found some deserted huts, in which they took shelter from the rain. On each side of the mountain were some places where the cattle are folded and the laitages* prepared during the season of alpine pasturage. The Vaudois touched none of these things, so that the hostages expressed their astonishment, that so large a troop should show such moderation on their march; and not being able to accommodate themselves to so frugal a way of living, intimated that it was customary for soldiers to take provisions, without ceremony, wherever they could find any. This hint, or rather reproach, from men who were in the interest of the country, their example, and the

* Various preparations of milk, including cheese.—ED.

desertion of their huts by the shepherds, joined to extreme hunger, induced the Vaudois to transgress their rule in this instance, by helping themselves to some bread, cheese, milk, and other food, for which they would have certainly paid if they could have found the owners. They succeeded at last in ascending the second mountain, called the mountain de Haute Luce, the mere approach to which produces fear; for it is at all times one of the rudest, and, at the period here spoken of, its dangers were increased by rains, snows, and a thick fog. So dense was the mist, that the guide, in his astonishment, was easily persuaded that God had providentially directed it to conceal the Vaudois from their enemies. They found on the summit, which they had thus gained with a difficulty to be imagined but not expressed, a deserted grange*, from which they took some milk and other trifling articles of food. They then beat up the country in search of some peasants to supply the place of the guide, who, on account of the mist, had lost all knowledge of the passes. It was soon seen that these peasants were conducting

* A chalêt, or chalêts, together with the pastures in which they are situated.—Ed.

them by the longest and most dangerous paths, not from ignorance, but with the intention of delay till the Savoyards should overtake and destroy them in these frightful defiles: a remedy to this was found by Mons. Arnaud in a determined threat to hang them.

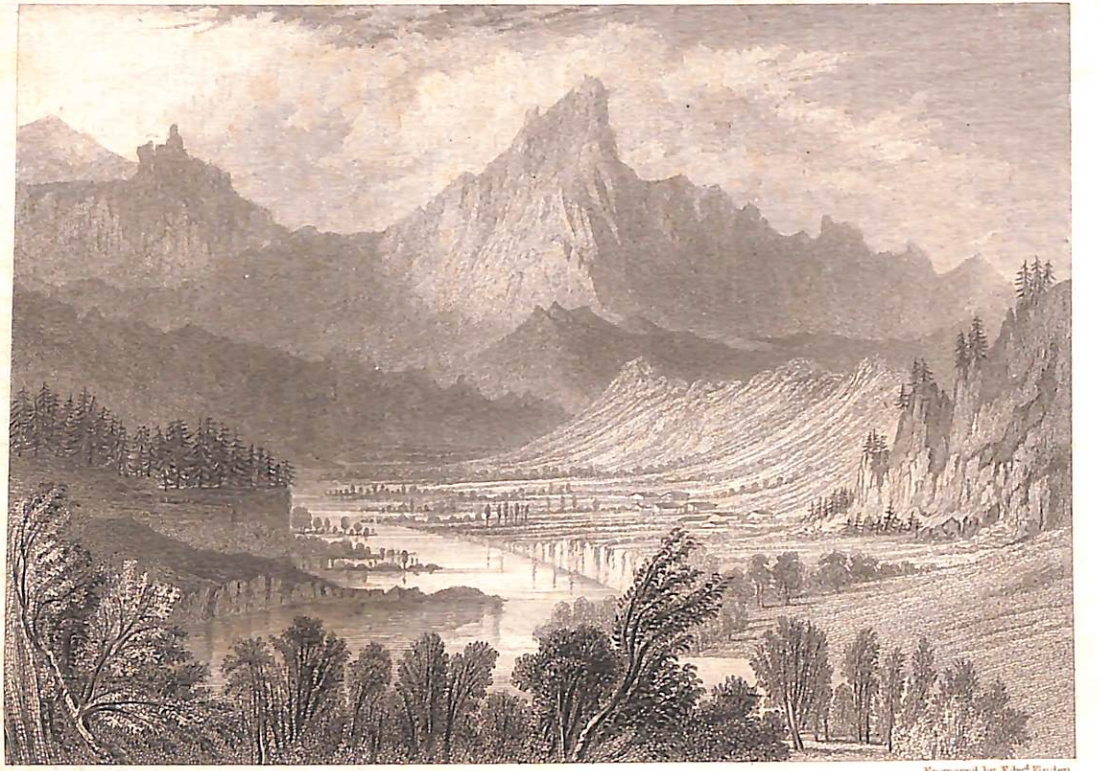
As the leader of this little flock knew how to subdue traitors by fear, so did he understand how to rally, by holy exhortation, the courage of those among his followers who were ready to sink under the complicated load of hardships to which they were exposed; and which, in this instance, was increased by the extreme fatigue of crossing a pass cut out of the rock like a ladder, where twenty men might easily have checked twenty thousand. If the ascent of an abrupt mountain is difficult, the descent is not less so. Thus here they were obliged to descend, seated and sliding, as though on a precipice, and with no other light than what proceeded from the whiteness of the snow. In this manner they arrived, late at night, at St. Nicolas de Verose, a parish peopled only by a few shepherds. On this spot, deep as an abyss, desert and cold, the Vaudois were compelled to halt, with no fuel but what they obtained by unroof-

ing the huts which sheltered them from the rain, thus escaping one misery at the expense of encountering another.

FOURTH DAY.

On the morning of Tuesday the 20th, two serious accidents resulted from the impatience of the Vaudois to quit the bad quarters of the preceding night. The one, that Captain Meynier, a Vaudois, and good soldier, was wounded in both thighs by a shot accidentally fired in the dark. The other, that in consequence of a report that 200 Savoyards had insinuated themselves among the troop in order to attack it in favourable time and situation, a Vaudois, who mistook the Sieur Baillif (a refugee) for such a person, fired at him, slightly wounded him with the bayonet, and would have destroyed him, had he not discovered his error when Mons. Baillif requested time for prayer. Here, also, the Captain Chiar deserted, disheartened by fatigues too great for his delicate constitution. He carried off with him a very

PROVINCIA DI TORINO



Drawn by Hugh Dyke Acland.

Engraved by Edwd Finden

THE COL DE BONHOMMIE.

FROM CONTAMINES.

Published June 1827 by John Murray London

fine horse from a place where six others were left.

The course now lay over one of the steepest points of the mountain called Bon-homme, knee deep in snow, and with the rain pouring on their backs. They marched in continual expectation of a bloody action, for they knew that, during the preceding year, good forts, intrenchments with embrasures and counterscarps, had been made in this quarter, in situations so commanding, that thirty men might not only have checked but defeated them.

But the Eternal, who was ever present with this troop of the faithful, permitted them to find these fine fortifications unguarded; the troops having evacuated them in weariness of so long and useless occupation—a blessing from heaven for which they rendered thanks on the spot. After a long descent, always over snow, they came to some houses, where they bought a cask of wine. Perceiving that the rear guard were lingering behind, they halted for it in a little village; but as it did not make its appearance, they fired some shots, on which those who composed it, supposing that there was an attack, left the wine, which was the cause of

their delay, and came up with all haste. They were now in the valley of the Isere, which they frequently crossed on account of the serpentine course of that river. This valley was so narrow and so flooded that the troop was sometimes obliged to march in single file. They were in constant expectation too of resistance, and, in fact, it was not long before they discovered a quantity of peasants on the summit of a small hill. They were armed in part with guns, and had also provided a large stock of stones, effective weapons in so confined a spot. In truth, the Vaudois reckoned on nothing less than paying dearly for their passage, if they could force it. They were therefore agreeably surprised when, contrary to all hope, the peasants made no attempt to check them, but returned as quickly as possible to their village, when they perceived that their measures did not deter the Vaudois. They then sounded their alarum bell, and immediately a horrible chime was heard of all the bells in the valley, which did not, however, prevent the Vaudois from arriving at a bridge for which they had been pushing forward. It was found to be barricadoed with great beams and interwoven trees, and guarded by men armed,

some with guns, and others with scythes, pitch-forks, &c.

While dispositions were making for an attack on them, Mons. le Comte de la Val d'Isere, seignior of the valley, came forward to parley, or rather to grant the passage. The peasants themselves were at the pains of clearing the bridge, and even the curé was seen to lend a hand to the work: after having done so, they withdrew to their village, which was at a musket shot's distance on the other side of the river, for fear of being burnt, as had been threatened. As for Mons. le Comte, as soon as he had completed his embassy, he galloped off with a slack rein, that he might not be enrolled among the hostages, who, whenever they saw a person of distinction, said to Mr. Arnaud, "there is a fine bird for our cage." As it was, two priests were put to sing there, and a third was released on account of his age.

The little town of Sey was now passed in tranquillity, though it had made a sad noise with its bells, and the inhabitants had taken up arms. The Vaudois encamped near this place, whence they purchased as much provision as they wanted. They had bread in such abundance, that the

inhabitants came to buy it back again from the soldiers. Thus terminated the fourth day of their march.

FIFTH DAY.

On Wednesday the 21st, the Vaudois were en route before daybreak: all the villages which they passed through were deserted. One man only, who did not think proper to accompany the rest, shut himself up in his house and sold bread to the soldiers from a gallery.

When it was time to halt, they rested near a little town called St. Foi, where they bought bread, wine, and meat, without the least disorder; as a precaution against which good sentries were set every where. Here they were astonished at the obliging reception they met with. Many gentlemen, and a large portion of the peasantry, came out to meet them, and addressed them with great civility, expressing joy at seeing them, and praise of their purpose to return to their own country. They even pressed us to pass the night among them, and said they

would bake bread, slay cattle, and give wine to refresh the soldiers.

All these fine speeches were insensibly producing effect on our people, who might perhaps to their misfortune have been persuaded to yield to them, had not Mons. Arnaud, who was with the rear guard, advanced to know the reason of the delay. The officers told him all the kind offers which had been made; but he paid no attention to them, having laid down for a maxim, that he would always distrust the apparent kindness of an enemy. He therefore not only made the troops advance, but compelled these flattering gentlemen to accompany them, as persons who had, beyond doubt, intended their destruction in the midst of the good things which they had proffered.

They soon entered a valley, narrowly compressed by mountains, bearing forests of thick and lofty trees, and abounding in passes which might easily have been obstructed; for the removal of the beams which were suspended over the little river which watered it would have rendered it impossible for our people to proceed. We arrived, however, in safety at Villar Rougy,

where the avant guard made prisoners a curé and some peasants who were in flight with him. As they escaped from this horrible valley, many of the inhabitants were observed who had deserted their houses and retreated to the opposite side of the river. At Entigne, a little village situated in a plain surrounded by mountains, no one was to be seen, excepting on the heights, and armed. A detachment was ordered to pursue those under arms; and a Frenchman, who had loitered behind, was wounded. In the evening our Vaudois made a large fire in a meadow, near a village called Laval, and passed the night there. They found provisions in some deserted houses, and the chief of the village treated the officers. And here, at the end of eight days and nights, passed almost without food or sleep, Mons. Arnaud and his colleague Mons. Montoux supped and lay down on beds for three hours; and truly can they say that never was repast or repose more sweet to them.

SIXTH DAY.

On the morning of Thursday the 22d, the Vaudois passed through the little town of Tigne, where they demanded the repayment of the money which had been there taken from the two spies, of whom we made former mention. The inhabitants were, indeed, well pleased to escape on making this simple restitution; for they had expected exemplary punishment.

At this place many of the hostages were released; and as some others had escaped, it was thought prudent to replace them by two priests and an advocate.

After this they began to ascend the mountain of La Maurienne, sometimes called Tisseran, instead of Mont Iseran, whence the river Isere derives its name. Here a boy, who had been compelled to follow us, broke a gun which had been given him to carry, and endeavoured to escape by the deep and tedious channel of a torrent. He was shot at three times, and at last wounded. When the next halt was made the companies were separated, and some new officers appointed. After this, some very painful ground

was traversed among Alps *, where there was a great abundance of cattle. The shepherds, instead of running away, regaled our travellers; and gave them at the same time to understand that they would have great difficulty in returning to their own country; for though their march had not yet been opposed, it would be so, strenuously, at the foot of Mont Cenis, by a considerable force, who were there firmly awaiting them.

This news, instead of discouraging them, inflamed their courage. For, knowing that the success of their arms depended only on that God for whose glory they had taken them up, they had no doubt that he would open them a way through whatever obstacle might be opposed to them.

In this confidence they descended the mountain of Maurienne and passed through the little village of Bonneval, the curé of which offered to the officers refreshment from his cellar: and, although a peasant, who would not proceed with them as guide, was well beaten, yet every thing was granted to them which they desired.

* Pasturages accessible only during summer.—Ed.

Thence they proceeded to Besas, where they were prepared to encounter the vilest rabble under Heaven. When they arrived there they found the inhabitants extreme in arrogance and menaces; insomuch that by their insolence they compelled the Vaudois to take vengeance, which they did by carrying off some mules, the curé, the castellain, and six peasants, who, by way of disgrace, were bound. On getting out of this place they crossed the river, and encamped for the night, without shelter, near a small deserted village in a drenching rain.

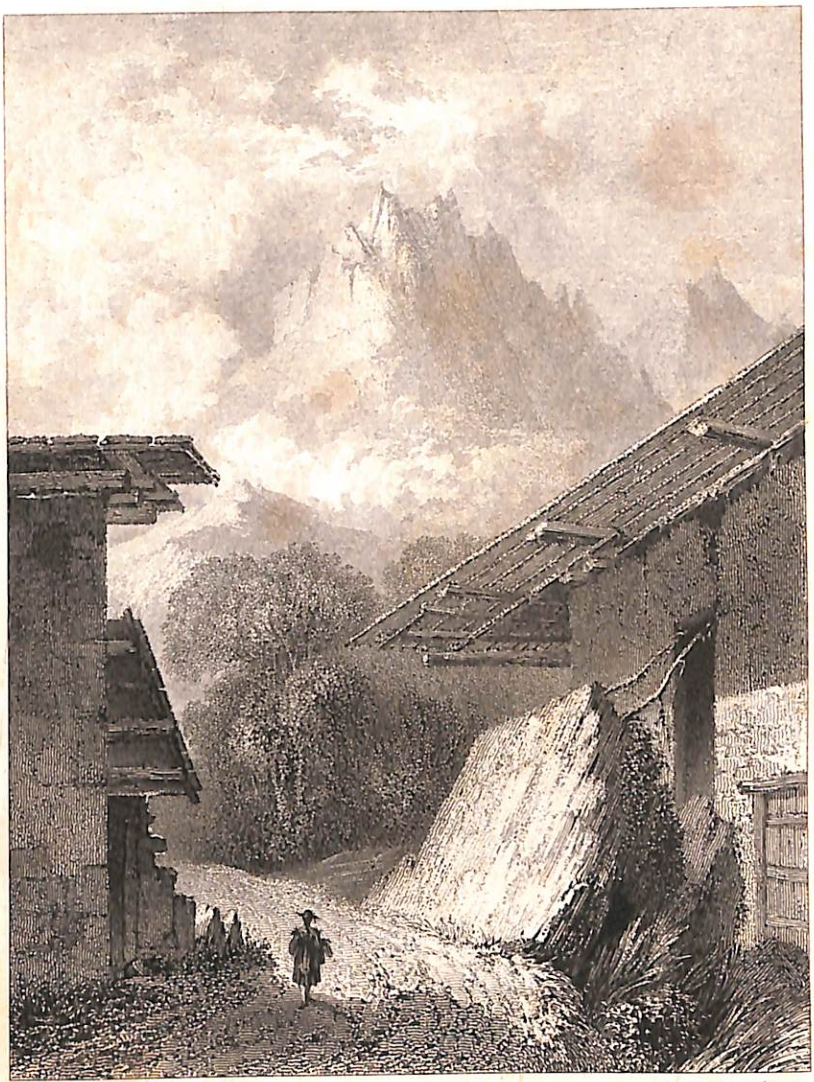
SEVENTH DAY.

On Friday, the 23d, they passed through Lannevillard, where they took the curé and some peasants as hostages; but on arriving at Mont Cenis they released the curé, considering him too fat and old for so high and steep an ascent. Having gained the summit, and knowing that there was a post-house near it which might forward a true account of their progress,

they sent a party to seize on all the horses which they could find.

The sufferings of the Vaudois in crossing the Great and Little Mont Cenis surpass imagination. On the summit of the latter an idle show of resistance was for a short time offered by some ill armed peasantry. Here they found a little bread and wine, but unfortunately lost their way on their descent; an accident which might have originated either from the malice of their guides, the density of the fog, or from the new, and therefore trackless, snow. In consequence of this error, their descent from the summit of the Touliers was over precipices rather than by a path. To complete their misery the night overtook them; and many, overcome by toil and weariness, were left behind, separated from each other and lost in a wood, where they passed the night wretchedly. The main body gained the valley of the Jaillon, where, benumbed with cold and wet, they deemed themselves fortunate in finding dry wood for fire.

PROVINCIA DI TORINO



Drawn by Hugh Dyke Acland.

Engraved by Edwd. Finden.

NEAR MONT CENIS.

Published June 1837, by John Murray, London.

EIGHTH AND VERY MEMORABLE DAY.

When the light of the 24th appeared, the Vaudois had the good fortune to reunite, and resolved to incline in the direction for Chaumont, a little above Susa. Some soldiers were sent to reconnoitre, who discovered on the summit of a mountain a great number of peasants, and some French soldiers from the garrison of Exiles*, who were incessantly rolling down large masses of rock, to add to the many natural impediments of the passage; for the valley is so narrow, and the Jaillon so rapid, that the Vaudois felt as if they were entering their sepulchre. However, they determined to advance intrepidly; and having reinforced the avant-guard with 100 men, pushed on within fifty paces of the enemy. They then despatched messengers, as usual, to treat for the passage. This commission was intrusted to Captain Paul Pelene with a small escort. Two curés from the hostages were also sent with him to facilitate

* A very strong fort in the valley of the Dora.

the matter; but these contrived to escape, and prevailed on the enemy to make prisoners of the captain and his attendants.

The Vaudois were now assailed by a heavy fire of musketry and grenades, and a shower of stones rolled from the heights. The avant-guard was forced to retreat, each individual sheltering himself from rock to rock, till they could defile through a wood of Spanish chestnut trees on the right bank of the river, which was crossed with great difficulty and danger. The sieur Caffarel, of Bobi, was made prisoner, after receiving a wound in the stomach from one of his own people, who mistook him for an enemy. He was, in fact, clothed in the uniform of a French soldier whom he had slain. Those who had crossed the Jaillon, finding they were not pursued, retraced their steps and joined the main body. It was now determined to attempt to regain the heights, from which they had lately descended, as the danger of being surrounded in a hole, enclosed by perpendicular rocks, was but too evident.

To regain these heights it was necessary to climb, with inconceivable pain, on the hands rather than the feet. Some notion may be

formed of it from the fact, that the hostages entreated that they might suffer death as preferable to such extreme hardship. The Vaudois, indeed, succeeded in regaining the heights, but with a confusion which cost them dear; for many of their men were left behind in the woods. Among others, were the captains Lucas and Privat, and two good surgeons, the former of whom have never since been heard of. Jean Malanet, one of the surgeons, with some soldiers, remained concealed for four days in a cave, with no other nourishment than water, which they fetched in the night. They were eventually made prisoners and taken to Susa, whence they were sent, bound hand and foot, to the prisons at Turin, where they lingered in dungeons for nine months. For those who were captured within the dependencies of Savoy were thrown into the prisons of that state; while those who had the misfortune to be taken within the territories of France were carried to Grenoble, and thence to the galleys; where such, as death has not yet taken pity on, still remain, though both ransom and exchange have been offered for them. Among these poor innocents is Mons. Jean Muston, of St. Jean, the other surgeon,

whose firmness and constancy during so long a martyrdom entitles him to a place in this history.

This defeat sadly weakened this little flock in respect to both stores and men. But it did not weaken the hearts of our Vaudois, who consoled themselves by their conviction, that it is neither by force, nor skill, nor numbers, that God fulfils his marvellous designs. Thus encouraging one another, they resolved to reascend the mountain of Touliers.

The trumpets were a long time sounded as a signal to those who were lost, and after waiting two hours they proceeded, though many of their comrades were still missing, being apprehensive that an insurmountable force might be collected to dispute the passage.

So great was their precipitation that poor Meynier of Rodovet, whose wound has been mentioned, was left behind sleeping against a rock, with provisions by his side, as his only consolation. Two hostages took this opportunity of flight; some shots were fired at them, and one appeared to take effect; be that as it may, they both made their escape.

When our Vaudois gained the summit, they perceived, through a thick fog, some 200 sol-

diers, divided into two or three troops, marching with their drums beating. The Vaudois advanced intrepidly; on which the commander of the enemy sent a note disclaiming any hostile intention, provided the Vaudois would pursue their march in a line above him. In this case he also offered them provisions. Should they, however, resolve on forcing his position, he requested eight hours to deliberate on what course he should adopt.

Although the Vaudois were aware that this officer, the commandant of Exiles, was not to be trusted, yet they thought it more prudent to accept the proposed route than to force a passage which was strongly guarded. They therefore filed to the right, but soon discovered that the enemy were softly following them under favour of the night.

This step convinced them that there was an intention to place them between two fires when they should attempt the bridge of Salabertrann. This would indeed have been an infallible mode of exterminating a handful of men wasted by fatigue and misery.

In this suspicion they sent to inquire why those troops thus acted in opposition to their

word; who replied that they had no intention of violating it: and immediately feigned a retreat.

The Vaudois continued their march through many obstacles, closely united, and halting from time to time, till they approached a village about a league from Salabertrann. Here they asked a peasant if they could have provisions for money. He answered, "Go on, you will have all you want, a good supper is prepared for you." These last mysterious words, pronounced with equal significance and coolness, were understood as pregnant with danger. Unmoved, however, in their purpose, the Vaudois ordered the peasants to bring them some wine, and after a moment's rest resumed their march. When they were within half a league of the bridge, they discovered thirty-six fires below them, which they rightfully considered as indications of troops; for within a quarter of an hour afterwards the avant-guard fell into an ambuscade, which retreated after firing one volley, and left five dead on the field.

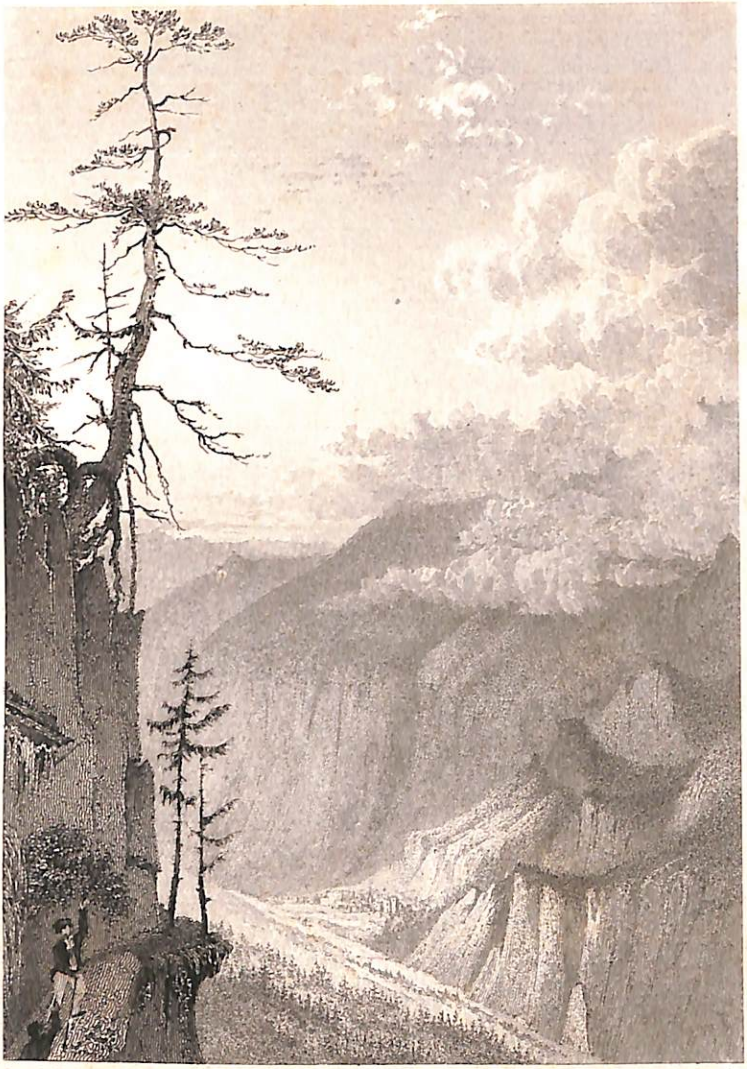
As there was no longer any doubt of immediate battle, the Vaudois united in prayer, and having scoured the country on either side

in search of ambuscades, advanced close to the bridge. The enemy, who was intrenched on the opposite bank, hailed them with a "qui vive." "Friends," was the answer, "provided they were permitted to pass." The enemy would have no such friends on those terms, and shouting out, "To slaughter!" opened a fire of more than 2000 shots in a volley. Mons. de la Tour ordered his men to lie down on their faces, and only one was wounded. A Savoyard gentleman, a hostage, who had grown gray under arms, declared he had never seen so heavy a fire with so slight an effect. Still more remarkable is the fact, that Captain Mondon of Bobi* (a generous and valiant officer, who still lives), and Mons. de la Tour, with two refugees, not only made head against, but actually checked, two companies who were making a charge on them in the rear. Our Vaudois, now between two fires, saw, that without loss of a moment, all must be hazarded. In this desperate crisis some one shouted, "Courage! the bridge is carried!"—though it

* The grandson of this officer is now the officiating pastor of St. Jean. He has great pride in showing a spot at Rocheplatte where his grandfather gained a splendid advantage over a body of French very superior to his own.—Ed.

was not. But our soldiers were so animated by the exclamation, that, throwing themselves headlong, with sabre and bayonet, on the bridge, they succeeded in gaining it, rushed impetuously on the intrenchments, carried them on the first attack, and pursued the enemy so closely as to seize many of them by the hair. Never was a charge more severe. The Vaudois sabre shattered the swords of the French, and made itself dreaded by the fire it struck from the muskets, no longer used excepting to guard off the blows of the victors. So brilliant and complete was the victory that Mons. le Marquis de Larrey, who commanded the enemy, exclaimed, with oaths according to French custom, "Is it possible that I lose my honour and the battle!" and despairing of any remedy, added, "Sauve qui peut!" He himself was dangerously wounded, and carried off, with some other officers, to Briançon*, but not conceiving himself safe even there, he was removed on a litter to Embrun. The battle lasted two hours; and so great was the disorder into which the enemy were thrown,

* The first French town on the opposite side of the Alps.—Ed.



Drawn by Hugh Dyke Acland. Engraved by Edwd Finden.

SALABERTRAUN.

FROM THE MOUNTAINS OF SCI.

Published June 1817, by John Murray, London.

PROVINCIA DI TORINO

that many of them, as the only chance of escape, mixed among the Vaudois; but mistaking the Vaudois watchword, "Augrogne," for "Grogne," more than 200 of them fell a sacrifice to this little word. The field of battle was covered with the dead, many of the enemy's companies being reduced to seven or eight men, without a single officer. The greatest part of the baggage, and all the ammunition, fell a prey to our victorious Vaudois. The moon rose, but did not show one remaining foe. Mons. Arnaud, always under the appellation of Mons. de la Tour, then called together his little band, and directed that thirteen chests which were found should be broken up, and that such of the booty as they could not carry should be thrown into the river. He also ordered every man to supply himself with ball and powder, after which the rest of the ammunition was set on fire. The trumpets were then sounded, and all of them throwing their hats towards heaven, made the air ring with the following joyful acclamation: "Thanks to the Eternal of armies, who has given us the victory over our enemies!"

What! a handful of men beat 2500 troops well intrenched, among whom were fifteen com-

panies of regulars and eleven of militia, with all the peasants that could be collected, besides the troops which attacked this handful in the rear! Belief in so improbable a fact must be grounded on a conviction, that the hand of God not only fought with the Vaudois, but blinded the French. For how else can we account for their not thinking of cutting away the wooden bridge, and thus effectually checking the Vaudois: for the Dora was so swelled, that any attempt, to wade through it, would have been to court inevitable death?

If this glorious victory is matter of surprise, the small loss of the Vaudois in obtaining it is not less so. It amounted only to ten or twelve wounded, and fourteen or fifteen killed, in addition to one of the hostages, six only of which failed in making their escape during the conflict.

Though, after such an action, repose was more necessary than ever, especially when it is remembered that three days and nights had been occupied by heavy marches, with insufficient food, yet it was thought right to advance, lest the enemy should receive a reinforcement. The remainder of so glorious a night was therefore employed in climbing the mountain of Sci by the light of the moon. It was a business of in-

finite pain, for the men fell down from drowsiness and fatigue at every step; and many more would have been lost than were so, had it not been for the peculiar care, taken by the rear-guard, to awaken such as thus fell asleep on the ground, and compel them to proceed.

NINTH DAY.

On Sunday the 25th, at break of day, the Vaudois found themselves at the top of the mountain of Sci. There they waited for those whom weakness had compelled to linger behind. When they had all rejoined, Mons. de la Tour collected the whole troop, and having remarked, that, from that spot they could see the tops of their own mountains, exhorted them to return thanks to God, who had so miraculously assisted them through so many difficulties, and already granted to them the partial sight of the places to which they aspired. Prayers were then offered up, which produced a most reanimating effect. Having returned thanks to God, they descended into the valley of Pra-

gelas, crossed the Clusone, and halted opposite to the church of La Traverse, from which village they procured provisions, which they paid for, notwithstanding the refusal of the inhabitants, who had once been their brothers in religion, to supply them. They had the pleasure of hearing that their loss in the late action was allowed to have been only fourteen, while their enemies were said to have left twelve captains, many other officers, and 600 privates dead on the field. But, on the other hand, they had the misfortune to hear that thirty-six of their own party who had been taken near the Jaillon, and eighty more who had been left at the bottom of the mountain of Sci, had been carried in chains to Grenoble.

Although it was Sunday, no mass was celebrated that day in the valley of Prajelas; for all the priests, more intent on their safety than their duty, had taken flight, as well as the rest of the papists. The son of the Castellain indeed formed a company, the command of which he took on himself; but his only exploit was the capture of four Vaudois, who had lost themselves in the woods.

About three in the afternoon dispositions were made for gaining the valley of St. Martin. Some

dragoons now appeared from the quarter of Cestrieres, but when they saw that we were meeting them firmly they retreated. We passed the night in the village of Jaussaud, the highest on the Col du Pis. Provisions were procured at an extravagant price, and not in sufficient quantity. The inhabitants were reproached for this unkindness, so opposed to their former connexion with us, but they excused themselves by saying, that if it were known that they had in the smallest degree favoured us, their utter destruction would be the consequence. In truth, their priest, on coming to take away the communion cup, told them, that if they did not secure every Vaudois they could catch, they deserved to be burnt in their houses.

TENTH DAY.

On Monday the 26th, the Vaudois did not set out till late, on account of the rain. When they reached the foot of the Col du Pis, they saw some troops of his royal highness posted advantageously on the Champ Bouchars. They halted

for prayers, which were offered up by Mons. Arnaud. They then formed three detachments, which marched in column, two of them keeping the sides, while the third held to the bottom of the mountain. When the Savoyards saw the firmness with which these detachments advanced, they sent forward an officer, who showed a desire to parley, but finding that he would not be listened to, he took flight, as did the rest of the troops, abandoning their baggage to the Vaudois. A thick fog saved them from being pursued, but three shots which were fired at them took effect. Our men now descended to the Alp of Pis, where they halted below Seras, near one of the huts where the shepherds make cheese. Eight guards of his royal highness approached them, who were pursued, and six were taken. They were put to death, after having been examined and exhorted to pray to God*. They knew so little how to do so, that they asked what they ought to say.

Six hundred sheep, with their shepherds, were carried off from this place, but the greater part

* I entreat the reader to suspend his judgment on this procedure and others similar to it, till he has read the journal of the fifteenth day.—Ed.

was restored in consideration of a small sum of money. As we did not resume our march till late, we were overtaken by the night in a deluge of rain, and obliged to descend one of the worst passes with torches, till we came to a grange which was almost unroofed, under the Col de Damian. Here we passed the night, not in sleep, but in drying ourselves before small fires.

CHAPTER III.

Containing an account of the events down to the separation of the Vaudois.

ELEVENTH DAY.

On Tuesday the 27th the Vaudois arrived at the Balsille, the first village in the valley of St. Martin.

Much surprise was occasioned here by the discovery that twenty soldiers had deserted. This desertion was the more extraordinary as it was made at the moment that they were setting foot in the country which had been the object of so severe trials.

It had been feared the village of the Balsille would be occupied by an armed force; in this we were fortunately mistaken, and seized the opportunity of obtaining repose and refreshment. For the last purpose some sheep were killed, and eaten, partly with bread and partly without, as none could be procured from the inhabitants. While we were thus employed, a party was discovered advancing over the Col du Pis, who, mistaking the Vaudois for some of their own

party, made signs to us that they were troops of his royal highness. They were immediately taken and disarmed, and proved to be forty-six men of the militia of Cavors, under the command of a serjeant, and with orders to guard the Col. A council of war was held on them in a meadow; and having been exhorted to pray to God, they were put to death on the bridge of the Balsille, and thrown into the river. Two revolted peasants * shared the same fate. After this the Vaudois pushed on to Marelle, where they found bread and some other provisions, which the peasants had not had time to bury.

TWELFTH AND CONSOLING DAY.

On Wednesday the 28th our travellers were rapidly approaching the last point of their career. They directed their march towards Prali; and when they arrived at the top of the Coline † they divided into two troops, one of which

* Peasants who had been of the Vaudois faith, and were now in arms against their former brethren.

† The name of a particular mountain.

marched straight to Rodoret, over the mountain, while the other held to the valley, and went through Fontaines. This plan was adopted in order more easily to discover any soldiers who might be in the neighbourhood. A few Savoyards only were met, and were put to the sword. Having heard that the Marquis of Parelle, lieutenant-general and commander of the ducal forces on the Col de Lapier, was at Perrier, those who had marched on Rodoret rejoined the rest at Prali. Here they burnt a chapel which had been built since their expatriation. They had the infinite pleasure of finding their church at Guigon, which is the parish church of Prali, still standing. They removed every thing which savoured of Romish worship, and sang the seventy-fourth psalm, "O God, wherefore art thou absent from us so long," &c. &c. Mons. Arnaud then mounted a bench in the door-way, that he might be audible to those within and without the church; and after the 129th psalm had been sung, "Many a time have they fought against me, from my youth up," &c. preached in exposition of some of the verses in these psalms.

It is, perhaps, worthy of remark, that the

church in which God first granted to the Vaudois to perform service on their return, was formerly served by Mons. Leidet; who, being detected singing psalms under a rock, boldly proclaimed his pure faith in the gospel, and was therefore hung on a gibbet at St. Michel, near Luzerne, in 1686.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

On the 29th, after prayers were offered up publicly by Mons. Arnaud, the Vaudois departed with the intention of crossing the Col de Julien, and descending to the valley of Luzerne. Near the Ferrouillarie they found a horse by itself, which led them to suspect that the enemy was not far off. Shortly afterwards they met with a peasant, who was killed in attempting to escape. A serjeant with a peasant as his guide were also taken. The latter was put to death, but the serjeant was spared for the sake of the information which he promised. He, in fact, confessed that he had been sent into the valley of St. Martin, to discover the state of the Vaudois;

that he was one of the avant-guard of the enemy; and that 200 of his royal highness's guards, strongly intrenched, were waiting for the Vaudois on the top of the Col de Julien. He informed them also that the regiment of guards had marched from Nice seventeen days ago, that is, three days before the departure of the Vaudois.

On this intimation they formed into three troops; one of which kept to the right; another to the left; and the main body held straight to their point. The one on the right had gained the higher edge of the wood, and was going to halt for repose, when it was discovered by one of the enemy's sentries. Every effort was instantly made to pre-occupy a favourable position above them. There was but just time to succeed, as the enemy exerted himself strenuously for the same purpose. As soon as the guards perceived that the Vaudois had anticipated them, they retreated in great haste under cover of a very thick fog, and called out, with all their might, "Come on, you barbets* of the devil, we are in possession of all the posts, and

* Barbe, as has been before mentioned, signified uncle, and was a term of affectionate respect. Thus it was applied

3000 strong." The Vaudois advanced steadily; and as they approached, the sentries called out more and more vociferously, "Qui vive, qui vive? Speak, or we will fire." None of them, however, did so, so completely were they panic-struck. The Vaudois, on the other hand, eager for the conflict, nobly resolved to attack these cowards, even in the intrenchments where they fancied themselves so secure. But they, perceiving it was all in good earnest, fired some sharp volleys, and shamefully abandoned all their posts; leaving behind, their provisions, ammunition, and baggage, even to the superb clothes of their commander. All this took place with a loss, on the part of the Vaudois, of only one man, Joshua Mundon, of Luzerne. He was a valiant soldier, and died of his wounds the next morning at the Pausettes, where he was buried under a rock.

The fugitives made their retreat to the convent of Villars with so much fear and precipitation, that they did not even take the precaution

by the Vaudois to their pastors: and on this account the Romanists used it collectively as a reproachful designation. —Ed.

of communicating with their troops in Serre le Cruel, under the Aiguille, or at Bobi.

Having thus carried the Col de Julien, the Vaudois pushed on to the Passarettes de Julien, where they overtook and slew thirty-one of the fugitives. They took also three horses, among which was that of the commander, with his pistols at the saddle-bow. They passed the night under the Aiguille, much incommoded by the rain. This inconvenience favoured the escape of the serjeant who has been mentioned, which he effected by sliding and rolling down over the mountain.

FOURTEENTH DAY.

On Friday the 30th, the weather being fine, the Vaudois started at day-break, and spent all the day in pursuit of their enemies, who fled instantly on their approach, and fell back upon Bobi, a little town on the Pelice, at the foot of the mountain Julien. Even here they were afraid of being attacked, and retired behind it. As soon as the Vaudois perceived this, they

thought it time to refresh themselves; and for this end stopped at Sibaud, a little hamlet of five or six granges, at about a musket-shot distance above Bobi.

FIFTEENTH DAY,

On the last day of August the Vaudois divided into two troops, one of which took a direction along the top of the mountain of Mendron, and the other along its flank. The latter soon descried some of the enemy's sentries, whose rapid retreat appeared to indicate a general disposition to flight. The Vaudois, therefore, quickened their march in order to overtake them; but their opponents, after firing a single volley, ran away as fast as possible to Bobi. This place was also entered by our people as masters, and some fugitives were captured and put to death.

The inhabitants abandoned every thing, and fled over the bridge without firing a single shot; and it must be allowed, to the shame of the Vaudois, that, instead of following up the pursuit, the greater number amused themselves with pillaging the town.

The other division employed themselves more nobly, and pursued the enemy into the woods, where they made twelve prisoners, ten of whom were sentenced to be shot by a council of war. One of the twelve, named Jean Gras, who had his sister-in-law with him, and his father, were spared at the intercession of a Vaudois captain of his acquaintance, who said that, though he had never done them any good, neither had he done them any harm.

Let not the reader be surprised that the Vaudois should thus put to death those who fell into their hands. We had no prisons to confine them; our numbers were too small, and the warfare too desultory to admit the possibility of guarding them; and to have released them, would have been to have published our plans, our weakness, and every thing on which depended the success of our enterprise. The relaxation of this unavoidable maxim, in the instance of Gras and his father, was eventually highly prejudicial to the Vaudois, from the injury they received through the means of these two ungrateful wretches, who, however, received in the end the just reward of their perfidy.

SIXTEENTH DAY.

On Sunday the first of September, the Vaudois remained at Bobi and Sibaud. Mons. Montoux, the only associate of Mons. Arnaud, standing on a door placed on two rocks, preached a very fine sermon on these words of our Saviour, "The law and the prophets were until John: since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it." After the sermon, they continued together to form some regulations. The first was an oath of fidelity, which Mons. Arnaud read aloud: the following is its formulary.

"God, by his divine grace, having happily led us back into the heritage of our forefathers, there to re-establish the pure service of our holy religion, by the completion of the enterprise which the great God of armies has hitherto conducted in our favour: We, the pastors, captains, and other officers, swear before God, and at the peril of our souls, to observe union and order amongst us; never willingly to separate nor disunite, while God shall grant life to us; not even though we should be so miserable as to be re-

duced to three or four; never to parley, nor treat, with our enemies, as well of France as Piémont, without the participation of our whole council of war; and to put together the booty which we have, or shall have, to be applied to the wants of our people, or to extraordinary cases. And we, soldiers, swear this day before God, to obey the orders of all our officers; and we swear fidelity to them with all our hearts, even to the last drop of our blood; also to give up to their care the prisoners and booty, to be disposed of as they shall think fit. And in order to more perfect regulation, it is forbidden, under heavy penalties, to any officer or soldier to search any enemy dead, wounded, or prisoner, during, or after battle; but persons shall be appointed for this purpose. The officers are enjoined to take care that the soldiers keep their arms and ammunition in order; and, above all, to chastise severely any one who shall swear or blaspheme. And, to render union, which is the soul of our affairs, inseparable among us, we, the officers, swear fidelity to the soldiers, and we, soldiers, to the officers; promising, moreover, to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to rescue, as far as may in us lie, our brethren from the power

of the cruel Babylon, and with them to re-establish and maintain his kingdom unto death: and by this oath we will abide all our lives."

The oath was then taken with uplifted hands. They then made a list of the booty, and consigned it to the care of four treasurers and two secretaries, who were also to act as commissaries. A major and an adjutant were appointed, and it was agreed that the soldiers might change their companies, on showing good reason for so doing. The day was finished by taking down the bell from the belfry at Bobi, and burying it under a large heap of stones; where it was, however, afterwards found by the enemy, when they undertook the fortification of that place.

SEVENTEENTH DAY.

On Monday, the 2d of September, after they had joined in prayer, the Vaudois put themselves in marching order to attack Villar. At Pianta they formed into two detachments, the largest of which kept the great road, while the other filed along the upper edge of the vine-

yards, in order to make an attack on the side of Rospard. A sad blunder was committed in the removal of the wounded and the baggage to La Combe, where an ambuscade of the enemy had nearly surprised them. The enemy's guard before Villar fled towards the combe* of Val Guichard, as soon as they perceived the approach of the Vaudois, and those in the town retired into the convent, from the belfry of which they kept a harassing fire.

To protect themselves from any surprise from this quarter, the Vaudois burnt some intermediate houses which concealed the movements of their antagonists, and continued their approaches under cover of casks which they rolled before them, and thus gained possession of some buildings attached to the convent itself, the fire from which they could now return through loop-holes made for the purpose. The Vaudois quickly lost three men, one of whom, the sieur Turin of Switzerland, was deeply regretted: for he was not only a brave soldier, but a very skilful tac-

* The Vaudois use the term "combe" in the same sense in which it is applied in the west of England. They have also the term junket for the preparation of milk, so called in the same counties.

tician. He belonged to the company of volunteers, formed on the 2d of August, and met with his death by too bold exposure of his person.

Having learnt from their prisoners that the besieged were without provisions, and considering the loss to which they would be exposed in carrying the convent by storm, the Vaudois determined to blockade and starve it out. The necessary operations for cutting off all communication were immediately made; and shortly afterwards, a convoy of fourteen mules appeared under the escort of a company of soldiers. Fifty resolute men were ordered to attack it: they did so, and secured it. Ten soldiers and a drummer were made prisoners. The mules, and the bread and wine which composed their burden, were distributed among the companies; after which, in order to be more secure, they posted a strong guard at Rospard, and sentries at Pertusel, to discover the approach of any succours to the enemy.

The besieged, who were soon sensible that their convoy had recruited the spirits of the Vaudois, while theirs were weakened by its loss, made a gallant sortie, sword in hand. They were, however, so well received, that they re-

treated into the convent, and that so precipitately, as to drag with them the body of the Baron du Chouate, their commander, by the heels.

EIGHTEENTH DAY.

Early on the 3d of September, the sentry posted at Pertusel made the signal that reinforcements were advancing to the enemy. At the same moment the Vaudois discovered that the besieged had escaped from the convent, crossed the river, and fled to the woods. A detachment was sent in pursuit of them, who effected a great slaughter, with a loss on their own side of only one wounded. This pursuit favoured the entry of the reinforcements, under the command of the Marquis of Parelle. For, although such of the Vaudois as had remained in Villar took possession with all possible haste of the bridge of Rosparo, and kept up a heavy fire, still they could not maintain themselves there; for the enemy had detached some companies to the farther end of the valley, with a view of surrounding them. The marquis, how-

ever, suffered a severe loss, including an officer of quality.

Perceiving the great number of their enemies, composed of dragoons, guards, and other well disciplined soldiers; and being themselves divided, without the power of reuniting, as the enemy was between them, the main body of the Vaudois resolved to husband the strength of their little flock, to give up Villar, and fall back upon Bobi. The other party, about sixty strong, after having straggled in all directions, at length miraculously met on mount Vendelin, whence they went to the highest Alps of Angrogna. As to Mons. Arnaud, after having three times given himself up, and six soldiers who were with him, for lost, and as often united with them in prayer, he succeeded in joining the party on mount Vendelin. Mons. Montoux was not so fortunate; for he was taken by the peasantry at Cruzzel, and sent to the prisons of Turin, where he languished till the peace with the Duke of Savoy.

CHAPTER IV.

Containing an account of the proceedings of the main body.

NINETEENTH DAY.

The main body of the Vaudois, who had encamped near the granges of Dupuy, above Bobi, sent, on the 4th, a detachment to the mountains of Augrogna to reinforce Mons. Arnaud, that he might be enabled to face the enemy quartered in that neighbourhood. They took up a position themselves, with the sick and wounded, in the granges of Le Serre le Cruel.

TWENTIETH DAY.

On the 5th of September the main body proceeded to the Infernet, a very high and insulated Alp, and were joined, during the day, by Mons. Arnaud. The out-posts having discovered a serjeant and a peasant, the latter was killed

Drawn by Hugh Dyke Acland.

Engraved by Edwd Finden.

THE SERRE LE CRUEL.

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PROVINCIA DI TORINO

while attempting to escape, and the former made prisoner. The serjeant informed them that there were 150 soldiers at Perrier, and that they would find, at a quarter of a league's distance below them, eleven mules, ten of which were laden with tents, and the remaining one with a calf, a sheep, and other food, the whole under the charge of only two men. Mons. Arnaud went himself, with six men, to the foot of the mountain to look for them, and having found them, burnt the tents, and destroyed the mules, excepting the one which carried the provisions. These were speedily devoured, for, in truth, our soldiers were in great want. On their way back they found a load of grenades, from which they supplied themselves with powder, and scattered the rest among the rocks. Parties were then sent to reconnoitre the mountain on all sides, lest on account of the fog they should fall into any ambuscade. After this they continued to ascend, and at the end of two hours' march discovered a barrel of wine which had been left by a detachment of the enemy who were surprised. This happened very opportunely; for a party which had been looking for provisions in the neighbourhood of Augrogna could only find a little chest-

nut paste*, not sufficient to satisfy their own hunger.

TWENTY-FIRST DAY.

Early on the morning of the 6th, Mons. de la Tour made two prisoners, who were put to death. Two peasants also who ran away in their shirts might have been shot; but the captain who was in command had given orders that no one should be killed, but taken alive to be examined and dealt with accordingly. For the Vaudois were extremely apprehensive of doing injury to some of their brethren, who might yet be wandering about these quarters. In fact, shortly afterwards, they met a woman who in the preceding war had effectually assisted those who defended their religion and their country. Since that time she had become wife to a Savoyard, and unhappily allowed herself to be persuaded to change her religion, or at least to appear to do so. However, she still considered the Vaudois as her bre-

* Chestnuts are an essential article of subsistence in these valleys, and are prepared in various manners.

thren, and gave them twenty-four loaves, of four or five pounds each, and promised to render any service in her power. She begged quarter for her husband, who was one of those who had been suffered to escape, and departed with a promise that he should not be molested.

This little party now perceived that the enemy was endeavouring to surround them: they therefore retreated in haste with their bread. On the summit of the Vachere three soldiers of Savoy were surprised, one of whom was shot in the act of flight, and the other two were made prisoners. From them our Vaudois learnt that there were four sentries a little higher up. An ineffectual attempt was made to impose themselves on these men for a detachment from the Marquess of Parelle. The foragers now rejoined the camp with the two prisoners and the bread. The latter was immediately distributed, together with some wine and rice which had been obtained by some other parties. The prisoners were then examined, and one, a serjeant, was shot. The other, a good surgeon, was spared under a promise on his part that he would render professional service.

The provisions thus obtained being insufficient, another detachment was sent towards Damian,

to look for more: they could not however procure any, but returned with hollow stomachs and empty hands. On arriving at the camp they were agreeably surprised by seeing a detachment of 200 men from Bobi, who had come to join Mons. de la Tour, enter it with them.

Mons. Arnaud had commenced a public thanksgiving for this timely reinforcement, when their devotions were stopped short by the appearance of the enemy endeavouring to render themselves masters of a position commanding the Vachere. A detachment moved off to oppose them, and so well did it perform its duty, that not only was the position gained at the very beard of the enemy, but a slaughter of more than 100 men was made without any loss on the part of the Vaudois. The remainder of the enemy was compelled to seek safety among the rocks.

A party which had been absent for some days, during the last two of which they had eaten nothing, now returned. The little bread remaining was given to them in pieces scarcely larger than walnuts. After this the Vaudois, impelled by their zeal, went in search of the enemy on Mont Servin, where they maintained an action which lasted seven hours. They lost only four men,

Jacques Robert, Michael Gardion, Jean Rostaing, and the Sieur Bailli, who remained behind on account of his wounds. The loss of the enemy was considerable, but its amount was not known: it included however six officers, among whom was Mons. Dutry. A heavy fog at length put an end to the battle. Moreover, the Vaudois, who were ill provided with ammunition, would not fire unless they had a distinct view of their object. Neither had they any thing to eat, nor even water to drink, unless they fetched it under the fire of the enemy: considering, therefore, that they might ultimately be compelled to give way, the Vaudois thought it best to retreat under advantage of the fog. This they did with so much skill, that the enemy, 600 strong, did not discover them; though they remained in a little hamlet not a league off, situated on one of the rocks known by the name of Turin. Here they were obliged for their only repast to eat raw cabbage, as fire might have betrayed them. The enemy encamped within a quarter of a league, but did not venture on a nearer approach.

TWENTY-SECOND DAY.

On the morning of the 7th the Vaudois, reinforced, as has been mentioned, moved upon Perrier. The passes were so intersected with precipices that a single false step would have been fatal; and in spite of every precaution, the mule which had been taken on the 20th, fell and was destroyed. They passed through many hamlets where nothing but a few apples could be found. When they reached Fayet, which is on a little eminence at a musket shot's distance from Perrier, they discovered that the 150 men who had been reported to be there, were still in possession of it. As soon as the inhabitants saw the Vaudois approach, they deserted the soldiers and fled. The soldiers, after receiving two volleys, retreated into the convent. Some of the Vaudois wished to storm this place, but the contrary opinion prevailed; for not only were they in too weak a state from want of nourishment, but at any time it would have been the height of temerity to have encountered the probable loss of carrying a place so well intrenched, fortified with bastions, advantageously situated, and pro-

tected by a height called the Croix de l'Escape. Moreover, the enemy had cut away the bridge over which was the approach. When the Vaudois found that there was nothing for them to do, they mounted as far as Crouzet, where they made some soup of cabbage, peas, and leeks, without meat, salt, or any other seasoning. They ate it, however, with a good appetite, and then detached eight men to Prali to reconnoitre and to look for provisions.

TWENTY-THIRD AND TWENTY-FOURTH DAYS.

One of the eight messengers having returned, reported that Prali was open: the Vaudois marched thither on Sunday the 8th. The first thing they did on their arrival was to make bread, to satisfy the cravings of hunger; and considering the opportunity favourable for repose, they resolved on remaining there two days. In the meantime they sent out foraging parties and persons to reap what corn might be left on the fields. Michael Bertin's company was then

detached to join the Vaudois who were at Bobi, and who were the same that were separated from the main body after the action with the Marquis de Parelle at Villar.

Mons. Arnaud accompanied this detachment with the view of administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to his brethren in the valley of Luzerne, as he had already done to those in the valley of St. Martin. The surgeon also, who had been made prisoner, was taken to attend the sick and wounded at Bobi, who were in severe want of his assistance. Several wounded Vaudois had also been left in the valley of Prajelas, after the battle of Salabertrann; three messengers were therefore sent to inquire after them. They were joined by five men of that country and a soldier of Low Dauphiny, who volunteered into the service of the Vaudois, and, thus reinforced, they made a capture of 180 sheep. These were known to be the property of two apostates, Jean Passegouet, consul of the commune, and one Perrou, a physician, who, since his apostasy, had become a violent persecutor. These persons sent money to ransom their flock, but their proposal was rejected. It was indeed just that the perfidy of these two traitors should be punished by such

a loss; for they had both acted as guides to a French force of 200 cavalry and 400 infantry on the preceding day, and failed only by two hours in surprising the Vaudois. Though so skilfully guided, and strong enough to seek their enemies, the ducal troops did not dare to advance, but contented themselves with displaying their valour in sacking the village of Jaillaud, under the pretext that the Vaudois had been allowed to sleep there on their march to the valley of St. Martin. It was in vain that the inhabitants protested that they were not, in that instance, masters of their own village, and had only submitted to force: nothing could check the pillage. The wretch of a consul was delighted with this havock; and having discovered three Vaudois who had been wounded at Salabertrann, and were concealed in bushes, gave them up to the French. This accident provoked a more rigid search, which ended in the discovery of eleven more Vaudois. These poor victims were carried to Briançon, and thence, as soon as their wounds would permit, to Grenoble. The perfidious consul did not escape the vengeance of God; for on the same day on which he thus became a

seller of human flesh, he tumbled from the top of a ladder, and though he did not absolutely break his neck, he received so severe an injury as to lead him to recognise in it a reward for his treachery.

TWENTY-FIFTH DAY.

On the 10th of September a detachment of soldiers was sent to the Balsille to bring away some arms which had been taken from the enemy and concealed there. As they returned by Macel they found a great smoke spreading itself over the whole valley, and gaining a height in order to ascertain the cause, they discovered that the enemy was burning all the villages about Perrier. This measure was considered as a symptom of his retreat, and eighty men were ordered to observe his movements, but most of them stopped on the road, or returned to the camp, not being able to brave the severity of the weather. Fifteen, however, of the most hardy, succeeded in approaching Perrier, when they perceived that the

enemy had broken up their camp and left only a guard, which, on seeing our resolute Vaudois, fled without an attack.

Thus fifteen Vaudois entered Perrier triumphantly, and when they saw the strength of the intrenchments, were astonished beyond measure at the cowardice which had induced the desertion of such a place. They found that the enemy had left proof of their presence by burning every thing in the neighbourhood.

After this example, and to the eternal shame of those who had suffered fifteen men to make themselves masters of such a post, our Vaudois set fire to the church, the convent, and the houses, and returned, late in the evening, to Prali and Rodoret.

TWENTY-SIXTH DAY.

On Wednesday the 11th another detachment, 120 strong, was ordered to advance as far as the bridge of Pomaret, generally called the bridge of Macel, where there was an advanced guard

of the enemy. Twelve of this party halted at the bridge of Raut, and discovered that a body of peasantry had taken possession of a height named the Fort; they attacked and dislodged them, killing one and taking another prisoner, who was a renegade; they then descended towards the bridge of Macel, where seeing the advanced guard of the enemy, they made a signal to their comrades to push forward. Some twenty did so, but the rest remained in the vineyards. They then attacked the guard, who fled, and left the post in possession of our Vaudois. Four of the enemy, including the renegade, were killed, and two men, two women, and three children, were taken. Pursuit was proposed, but the two prisoners, who were French, gave information that the troops of the King of France were continually mounting towards the valley of Prajelas with the intention of investing the Vaudois. As in this case their whole force would be required, it was thought right to rejoin the main body at Prali with all haste. The prisoners were spared, because they had in the first instance offered to surrender, and were moreover stray brethren who had never been persecutors. One of them vo-

luntarily joined the Vaudois, and the other promised to be of any service he could on his return to his own troops. Four messengers, however, were sent to Prajelas to ascertain the truth of the report respecting the advance of the enemy; the rest fell back on Prali and Rodoret.

TWENTY-SEVENTH DAY.

On the 12th these four messengers returned and confirmed the information. The king's forces had defiled from Cazal and Pignerol, ascended the valley of Prajelas, and crossed over to the bridge of Salabertrann, where they had encamped to the number of 8000; but, on a report that Cazal was invested by the Spaniards, had withdrawn again in that direction. This was good news for the Vaudois; but scarcely had they heard it when its effect was counteracted by accounts from their brethren in the valley of Luzerne, in which direction the enemy had entered with a strong force both of cavalry and infantry, driven the Vaudois beyond Bobi, and taken pos-

session of that town. In consequence of this, a council of war was called, which resolved that a detachment should be sent towards Angrogna, to divert the attention of the enemy from the quarter of Bobi. Eighty men set out on this service, and slept that night on the mountain of Lazara.

TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY.

On the 13th, this detachment set off four hours before daylight, and marching by the light of the moon, found itself at sunrise within sight of Pignerol, and not far from the convent of Angrogna. Here they halted, and sent two soldiers to reconnoitre, but they could discover none of the enemy. In the mean time, a captain perceived seven or eight peasants entering a grange which belonged to him, and sent thirty men in pursuit of them, in case there should be any ambuscade. Two peasants, who were concealed among the rocks higher up, warned the rest of their danger; but though none of them were made prisoners, three were shot. The soldiers

pursued them under the walls of the convent, and then retired, after having received several volleys. Shortly afterwards, the detachment made a capture of six men, two girls, a mule, and two asses, and were informed that 300 of the enemy had arrived at the convent the day before, and that a strong body of cavalry lay at St. Germain. It was, therefore, not deemed prudent to proceed farther in that direction; so they took up their quarters for the night in the granges of the Pra del Tor.

TWENTY-NINTH DAY.

On the morning of the 14th, the above mentioned detachment, having released the two girls and shot the other prisoners, moved in the direction of Bobi, in order to join the Vaudois of the valley of Luzerne, who were encamped higher up. They met, on their march, four Vaudois soldiers, who brought orders to them to burn all the villages in the neighbourhood of Angrogna. At the moment that they wheeled about for this purpose, they discovered 500 of the enemy close

to the summit of the mountain. The greatest efforts were made to get first possession of so advantageous a position, but without success, as the enemy was much nearer to it. Our detachment then filed to the left, and posted themselves on another height, close to the enemy, but not without being exposed to a heavy fire. The action lasted for a good hour, and would have been continued, and with greater spirit, if the fog, the rain, and the approach of night had not compelled the enemy to retreat, with some loss. Our soldiers retired to the huts on the Infernet Alp, which they were obliged to unroof, in order to get wood for fires: here they were met by three out-scouts, who reported that the enemy had altogether retraced his steps.

THIRTIETH DAY.

On the 15th, the same detachment, finding that it could not penetrate into the valley of Luzerne, returned to the valley of St. Martin, and joined the main body at Villeseche, who, during their absence, had been employed in

gathering the vintage. Some of the inhabitants of Prajelas, who had vineyards near Villeseche, obtained permission to work their produce, in consideration of a hundred crowns, which they offered for it. Two detachments were now sent out. One of 116 men was ordered into the neighbourhood of St. Germain, to give chase to an advanced guard, placed at Girbaud for the protection of those who were gathering the grapes and chestnuts. It arrived there early in the morning; and after it had made its observations, attacked the enemy while he was employed in firing at the target. In fact, the Vaudois opened their fire at the moment when one of the guards was exclaiming, "Ha! what a capital shot that would have been if a barbet had been there." Peasantry and soldiery immediately fled, and with so much rapidity, as to cross the bridge of Pinache, which they immediately cut away, before they could be overtaken. The Vaudois, however, would not have crossed the river, if the bridge had remained, as they did not choose to violate the territory of the King of France, who did not then appear to have any design against them. The enemy's

guard being thus dispersed, this detachment rejoined the main body at Villeseche.

The other, which had descended in the direction for Perouse, made a great many prisoners; but all those who professed themselves French subjects were immediately released. The principal capture was that of two infamous renegades, who had served as guides to the Marquis de Parelle to the destruction of their former brethren.

They were carried under the doors of the guard-house of Perouse, where a gibbet was erected, and one was obliged to hang the other, and was then shot for his pains. It happened to be the day of the fair; so there was a very large concourse of people at Perouse, who imagined, to their inexpressible pleasure, that these were two barbets hung by order of the Marquis de Parelle. But as soon as they were undeceived, their joy was turned into sadness and fear, and the traders, with all the people who were collected, fled into the country in confusion.

THIRTY-FIRST DAY.

On the 16th, the Marquis de Parelle broke up from Prajelas, made a forced march, during the whole night, over the Col de la Bussu, and fired Villeseche, which the Vaudois had abandoned the night before for Busset. The Vaudois thought it their duty to attack him, and no less a duty to make this attack under circumstances favourable to his defeat.

While they were waiting for such an opportunity, the Marquis fell back on the valley of Perouse, and encamped near Pomaret. He ordered strong detachments to fortify themselves at Riauclaret and the summit of the Zarra, and every exertion to be made to prevent the Vaudois from beating out the corn which they had reaped, and which they laid up in stores at Rodoret. For the protection of those who were thus employed, the Vaudois detached a flying camp, which did its duty so effectually that every attempt of the enemy was disconcerted. Frequent skirmishes, to the advantage of the Vaudois, took place in the neighbourhood of Pomaret, and many rich convoys fell into their hands.

Thus, a little more than a month after their departure from Switzerland, the Vaudois were in possession of their principal valley, and a plentiful harvest of corn, wine, apples, and nuts, which they had collected in spite of their enemies. Their satisfaction at this success was, however, checked by two circumstances: one was the desertion of the Captain Turel, with a serjeant, corporal, and two privates, effected under the plea of going into the valley of Prajelas to establish some necessary communications; the other was anxiety on account of their brethren in the valley of Luzerne, who had never been able to join the main body, nor had the latter been able to assist them. The fate of the Captain Turel was miserable. Deserting the Vaudois from fear of death, which would, at least, have been glorious, he encountered it in its most terrible and ignominious form: for, after being racked on the wheel, he was hung between twelve other prisoners at Grenoble. Many more were sent to the galleys, or compelled to enter the service of the King of France. The adventures of the Vaudois in the valley of Luzerne will be related in the following chapter.

PROVINCIA DI TORINO

Drawn by Hugh Dyke Acland.

Engraved by Edwd Finden

PRA. DEL TOR.

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CHAPTER V.

The reader will remember that, after a severe action at Villar on the 3d, eighty Vaudois found themselves separated from the rest, and were joined in the evening on Mont Vendelin by Mons. Arnaud, who quitted them again on the 5th for the main body, whom we have left in possession of the valley of St. Martin.

The feats performed by this little troop, since that time, are so astonishing, that I cannot help remarking, that God often selects the smallest instruments for the greatest effects.

On the night after the separation, these eighty Vaudois continued to traverse the mountains till they reached some huts above the Pra-del-Tor, where they slept, with nothing to eat but some small plums and hazel nuts, which they had gathered on their road.

For three following days they lived patiently on some apples, till, on the 7th, weary of this state of half-existence, and desperate from hun-

ger, they resolved on running every risk to procure provisions. Fifty men made a successful attempt on Quayras, and carried off 700 or 800 sheep and some yearling cattle. The peasants did not fail to come and demand them; but some young cows only were restored, in consideration of some money, drugs, and salt. Thus refreshed, bodily, this little band sought to be so, spiritually, and more essentially; and to this end, partook of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, administered by Mons. Arnaud, who, as was mentioned in a former page, had left the main body for this purpose. At the same time, Samuel Gras, and some others from Quayras, who had deserted their faith during the last persecution, were received into the peace of the church. The occupation of the convent of Villar by his royal highness's troops being highly prejudicial to the Vaudois, they made several attempts to burn it, which failed, on account of the thickness of the walls: at last, on the 20th of September, they succeeded in destroying it by mines. After this, they beat up the country about Cabriol, to observe the enemy who was quartered in La Tour, and were obliged to permit him to advance and take possession of Bobi;

and after gaining several petty advantages over the peasantry, were at last confined to the mountains by a strong body of cavalry, which they, nevertheless, contrived to harass with considerable effect.

On the 24th of September, our little band, having slept at Villar, encountered a party of the enemy, which, after a short resistance, made a feint of retreat, in order to lead them into an ambuscade. Finding that this did not succeed, the enemy united and drove the Vaudois to the mountains, without killing or wounding one of them. An evident proof that the hand of God protected them. Though the enemy had only to contend with so small a force, yet their fear was such, that they intrenched themselves strongly in Bobi, and rarely ventured out of their intrenchments; and even within them, there was no small panic whenever it was reported that the Vaudois were approaching. Thus, the latter were again at liberty to beat up the country, either in search of provisions, or in attacks on places not sufficiently guarded. In a descent upon Rora, they killed thirty of the enemy, destroyed the church, burnt all the houses and mills, while the garrison of St. Mi-

chel's remained inactive spectators of their operations. They then crossed the mountains, descended into the valley of the Pelice opposite to Essart, and proceeded without opposition to Pont Vieil, where they captured twenty-eight cows, and twenty or thirty sheep and goats.

Upon this, the enemy procured a reinforcement of cavalry at Bobi, and took up a position on the Collet de Garin, in the persuasion that the Vaudois must pass in that direction. But, thanks be to God, who always watched over them, they chose another road, by which they reached the Combe de la Ferriere in safety.

On the 6th, an ambuscade of the enemy was discovered at Cercena; and in order to entice the Vaudois into it, another party ascended le Serre le Cruel. The vigour of the attack on the part of the Vaudois was equalled by the rapidity of the flight of their opponents, who lost only one killed, and three or four wounded.

The Vaudois, finding that they could no longer scour the country, nor descend into the plain, on account of the cavalry stationed at Bobi, resolved on depriving it of the means of subsistence. For this purpose, they made a descent on the nights of the 11th and 12th, and burnt all the neigh-

bouring granges which contained forage. On one of these days, a detachment of the enemy was discovered forming an ambuscade among the vineyards, while Mons. Arnaud was preaching.

A party was sent to dislodge them, which they did, without any loss, though they killed and wounded several of their opponents, and drove them back into Bobi.

The enemy being desirous of sending supplies to the fort of Mirabouc, and fearful lest they should be intercepted by the Vaudois, determined to make a general attack. At day-break, on the 13th, they were seen by our sentries on the summits above Cercena. Our little troop immediately fired the granges in le Serre le Cruel, and fell back on the Paussettes, at the foot of the Aiguille. Here they maintained an action all day, which cost them one killed and four wounded, two of whom died a few days afterwards. The loss of the enemy was seven or eight killed, and as many wounded. Some hostages, and the wounded, who had been stationed for greater security at the Aiguille, were removed to Prali, over the pass of the Col de

Julien—a work of difficulty, on account of the depth of the snow.

While the Vaudois were thus employed at the Paussettes, the enemy's convoy arrived safely at Mirabouc. The detachment which escorted it burnt the mills at Laurent and every thing found there, unroofed all the houses, and destroyed every article of food in the gardens, in hopes that the Vaudois, houseless and without food, would perish from cold and hunger. This result, apparently inevitable, must have followed in fact, had not God interposed for their preservation. In this miserable state, a part of this unfortunate troop retired to the Clos de Ferrand, under a single roof which had escaped the fury of the enemy; the remainder took up their abode among the rocks. They, however, exerted themselves to build some huts at the Aiguille, in which they might preserve the provisions which had been brought from Prali; every thing being destroyed in the commune of Bobi. A short respite was now allowed them, which was employed in fortifying, to the best of their power, the Paussettes. In the mean time, the enemy was no less attentive to his security.

Bobi was strongly intrenched; an advanced guard of sixty men was set every evening at Cibaud; and the guard-house was encompassed by a deep ditch. A detachment was also sent to burn the houses at the Tour de Clerret, but was immediately pursued, and put to flight.

Encouraged by this advantage, the Vaudois, who, since the action at the Paussettes, were reduced to the number of sixty, resolved on attacking the guard at Cibaud. For the better chance of success, it was agreed that, at the moment the sentry was fired at, each individual should rush headlong on the intrenchments. The spot on which the sentry was posted was accurately remarked, and they succeeded in approaching close enough to shoot him. Every man now did his duty: the intrenchments were cleared in an instant, and a few only of the guard escaped the unexpected attack, by throwing themselves over the rock of Cibaud. And even this precipitous flight was in some cases arrested by trees, on which the fugitives were suspended. Thirty-four were killed, and their arms taken by the Vaudois, who, on their side, had only one man slightly wounded. So great was the consternation at Bobi, that the presence of a body

of cavalry could not reassure the troops. Looking on this affair as a preliminary only to the attack of that place, they razed the intrenchments and houses to the ground, not leaving one stone on another, and then retreated in disgrace. The following is an exact copy of the account given at Turin of this affair. "The Vaudois of Luzerne cannot maintain their ground before our troops, but are scattered about in small parties. They frequently harass our advanced guards: if they find them on the alert, they retreat; but last Saturday they surprised a guard at Cibaud, and the officer, with three or four privates only, escaped, and these wounded."

On the following Saturday, the ducal forces were observed ascending le Serre le Cruel, in conformity with their practice of attacking the Vaudois on a Sunday. A party of the latter, however, who were coming from the Val Guichard, appearing in their rear, the duke's troops retreated in the utmost haste. Towards the end of the ensuing week, the enemy having collected all his regular force, strengthened it by the union of the peasantry, and of every one, even bandits, who could march.

It was evident to the Vaudois, that a despe-

rate attack impended. They, therefore, despatched messengers to their brethren in the valley of St. Martin, to inform them of their danger, and their inability to maintain possession of the Col de Julien. At the same time, they sent out scouts to observe the operations of the enemy. These scouts returned on Saturday morning, and reported that the duke's forces had defiled from Bobi, some hours before daylight, in three detachments; the largest in the direction of the Combe de Ferriere, the second in that of Cercena, while the third encamped at the Clos de Ferraud, after posting a guard at Balangier. Two men were instantly sent to watch the larger detachment, which was moving in the direction of Mirabouc. But they soon made the signal that an attack was obviously intended. The Vaudois, aware of their inability to sustain it, abandoned their intrenchments at the Paussettes, and retreated among the rocks of the Aiguille, whence they sent another messenger to their brethren of St. Martin, saying that, unless succour instantly arrived, the Col de Julien must be lost. This apprehension was too well justified: for though, had they done their duty, they could never have

been forced from their position on the Aiguille, yet they deserted it in a fear, unusual to them, of the apparently overwhelming numbers of their antagonists, who entered it on the following morning without opposition. The huts and the chestnuts contained in them were burnt, and the other provisions thrown over rocks; and, unfortunately, the shepherd who had charge of the flock belonging to the Vaudois of Rodoret, ignorant of these events, led it on the same day to the pastures near the Aiguille*, so that they, also, became a prey to the enemy.

Among other things which were captured was a very accurate journal of every occurrence among the Vaudois from the time of their embarkation on the lake of Geneva to the 17th of October. It was carried to Turin, where, having passed through many hands, it eventually fell into those of a literary man of Geneva, who recognised the hand-writing as that of the Sieur Renaudin, who had been a student in that city, and felt, together with many Swiss friends, the most lively interest in this account of their de-

* It is the practice with shepherds, in mountains where the alps are small, or not fertile, to change from alp to alp within their right of pasture.

parted protegés. For even in Switzerland nothing was known about the event of our enterprise, nor did we, on the other hand, know of any thing beyond the limits of the valleys. After the loss of the Aiguille the condition of this little troop was truly deplorable; they were without provisions or skilful leaders, and surrounded by an overpowering force. Their escape, apparently impracticable, was at first favoured by a thick fog, and then continued during the night along the edges of the Alp of Sabiasque. The darkness and precipices in which they were involved were such as to compel them to grope for their road, which wound in every direction, so that a party of twelve took the line of Angrogna, while the others held to the mountains above Prali. To complete their misfortune, a division of opinion arose among the larger body as to the direction in which they should proceed; some proposing the Val Guichard, and others Balmadaut. The latter was found impracticable, as it was defended by two bodies of advanced guards, which, weakened as were the Vaudois by separation, they were incompetent to attack: as to the Val Guichard, it was out of their reach, on account of the time lost in discussion. In

this dilemma they were obliged to hide themselves during the day among some rocks called the Viailles, where they suffered severely from the cold, not daring to show themselves to the sun lest they should be discovered; for their enemies surrounded them on every side, and were searching narrowly every mountain, and even encamped and intrenched themselves close to their hiding-place.

Darkness was hailed by these poor Vaudois with more joy than men usually feel when awakened to the brightness of the morning, for to them it was the only means of preserving their lives, which, at whatever price, must have been yielded in the attack which would inevitably have been made on them the following morning, had they remained in the same spot. As soon, therefore, as night had sufficiently advanced, they resumed their flight, which, in spite of all their precaution, was nearly betrayed by the sound of the stones which rolled over the precipices from the edges of which they had been dislodged by the fugitives. The enemy fired three shots at hazard, but the Vaudois continued to advance in silence, till, under Divine Providence, they arrived at Bastier, which fortunately was un-

occupied. Under Divine Providence, I say, for was it not miraculous, that, while the summits of all the mountains were in the possession of the enemy, who was making every search for them, the Vaudois should pass by Cercena to the plain, cross the Pelice, and gain the Val Guichard, without once being seen? Here they remained till the attention of the enemy was diverted towards Angrogna, where the gallant Captain Laurent Buffe was committing great ravages with a detachment from the main body in the valley of St. Martin.

This diversion allowed our little band once more to show its face; nor did they delay to take advantage of it; they went first to the Combe de la Ferriere to gather chestnuts, which were a great resource in their total want of provisions. For the enemy, with a view of destroying them by famine, had posted guards in all the combs; but as the soldiers were sometimes relieved on this duty by the peasantry, the Vaudois found no difficulty, on such occasions, in forcing their way to procure food. A party which had been sent in the direction of Bobi having reported that the enemy were leaving that place, an ambuscade was immediately laid at Marbec. The

troops, who thought that the Vaudois were in the neighbourhood of Angrogna, were thrown into the greatest confusion when this ambuscade opened its fire. Among many others who fell was a captain who wore the cross of Malta.

After this achievement, our gallant band revisited the Aiguille to see what the enemy had been doing there; and while they were employed in collecting the chestnuts and bread which yet remained scattered among the rocks, they were delightfully surprised by the arrival of a party of their brethren from the valley of St. Martin, who had been compelled to a precipitate flight from Rodoret by the unexpected appearance of a large French force, which had marched over the Col d'Abries.

This had happened on the same day on which the Vaudois, who are the subject of this chapter, abandoned the Aiguille. The duke's troops were aware of this, and falsely imagining that those driven from Rodoret were all that were left in the valley of St. Martin, conceived that the moment for the total extermination of the Vaudois had already arrived.

This idea, indeed, was not confined to the enemy; for some French refugees, of the party

from Rodoret, knowing that the King of France had sent ten thousand men, and the Duke of Savoy twelve thousand more, into the valleys, gave up all for lost, and withdrew in tears at the prospect for the Vaudois.

A memorandum had been found on the person of the captain who was killed at Marbec, in which was a correct list of all the spots, however secret, where the Vaudois had concealed provisions: and as it was presumed that the object of the detachment he commanded was to find and destroy them, the Vaudois made all haste to remove them.

A party having returned with this view to the Val Guichard, the enemy were so much at a loss to imagine whence they could have come, that they retreated in astonishment and confusion.

The Vaudois had again the mortification to find themselves deserted by nine more refugees, who had joined them previous to the taking the oath of union near Bobi.

Though regardless of so solemn a pledge, they endeavoured to alleviate the loss occasioned by its rupture, by sending to the Vaudois upwards of eighty goats, which they seized at Pra. Some of these were captured by the enemy; and a

party of our men who attempted their rescue were kept in check by an advanced guard, which at last compelled them to retreat. They heard, at the same time, that seven of the deserters had been made prisoners.

The enemy seeing that the Vaudois always found means to escape, at last had recourse to stratagem. A serjeant was sent with instructions to tell them, that Mons. de Haye, one of the Piemontese commanders, was desirous of a conference. This plot originated with Jean Gras, a revolter, who has already been mentioned as having had his life spared by the Vaudois when made prisoner near Bobi. He had the temerity to accompany the serjeant, but, though he kept at a respectful distance, he could not save himself from capture. His father, who had participated in his guilt, came to see him, but he was spared on account of his age, and sent back with a note expressive of the willingness of the Vaudois to meet Mons. de Haye at Beirela, on the Tuesday following, if he would come attended by only one soldier. On the following morning, the same serjeant returned, and pressed them to keep their word. Though this unnecessary display of anxiety on the part of their enemies cor-

roborated the suspicion of treachery, they answered that they should come: but in order to prevent any surprise they sent soldiers to all the bridges to observe the smallest motions of the enemy, and soon discovered that an ambuscade was set. However, at the appointed hour, some of their chiefs betook themselves to the place of rendezvous, the ambuscade being held in check by a detachment ordered for that purpose. Mons. de Haye never made his appearance, but sent a note demanding the restoration of Jean Gras, which was refused. There was in this note an expression which led the Vaudois to suspect, that measures of the last extremity were in hand against them; they therefore retired to Marbec and Armaglier, and soon discovered that the enemy was in motion; they then fell back, in one body, on Barione, a very strong position, where they determined to make a desperate stand in case of attack.

The ducal forces were now in possession of all the combs, searching accurately every spot; yet, though they found almost all their deposits of provisions, they could not discover the Vaudois. No effort was spared for this purpose; the summits of the mountains were lined by peasantry

to watch for them, and to attack them from above, while the troops should do so from below. At last, the Vaudois, compelled to descend for food, were seen by the peasantry at Essart: information was instantly given to the troops, and they were invested on every side. Resigned to the fate which appeared inevitable, and supported by the religious motives which had induced them to encounter it, they calmly shut themselves up in an old house, made loop holes, and maintained themselves in it during the whole day. The enemy, who had anticipated an easy conquest, disappointed and enraged, determined so completely to surround them, that not one should ultimately escape. No sooner did the Vaudois perceive their design than they made a sortie, which put an instant stop to such operations. In the evening, the foe was reinforced from Bobi; but the Vaudois were assisted by night, who buried in her darkness the image of death, which had been before their eyes during the entire day. But still the morning could be expected only as the herald of their destruction; and their escape in the night appeared impossible, for every avenue was guarded. They attempted, however, to glide separately through

the enemy, and they did so; and, on the following morning, were scattered in the Val Guichard, at Balmadaut, Cumien, and other places, where they concealed themselves to the best of their power. During the whole of this action the Vaudois lost only one man, who was wounded, and fell into the hands of the enemy the day afterwards. His name was François Martinat; and to him was chiefly attributed the success of the attack on the guard at Cibaud, which has already been related. He fought, though wounded, to the last; for when he could no longer use his musket, he defended himself with his bayonet, till a sabre-cut on the head put an end to his existence.

PROVINCIA DI TORINO

After their miraculous escape from Essart, they once more united in the comb of Malpertus, where they met one another in search of chestnuts, and were again exposed to an attack, in which they lost two men. Confined to the highest mountains by the restless pursuit of their enemies, unable to procure food, and in danger of being overwhelmed by the snows, they now came to a determination that each should seek his own safety, and, if possible, escape the destruction which appeared inevitable from the

frost; when it pleased God to inspire their brethren of St. Martin with the idea of sending parties to look for them: and, in fact, they soon found themselves reunited with the main body, from which they had been so long separated.

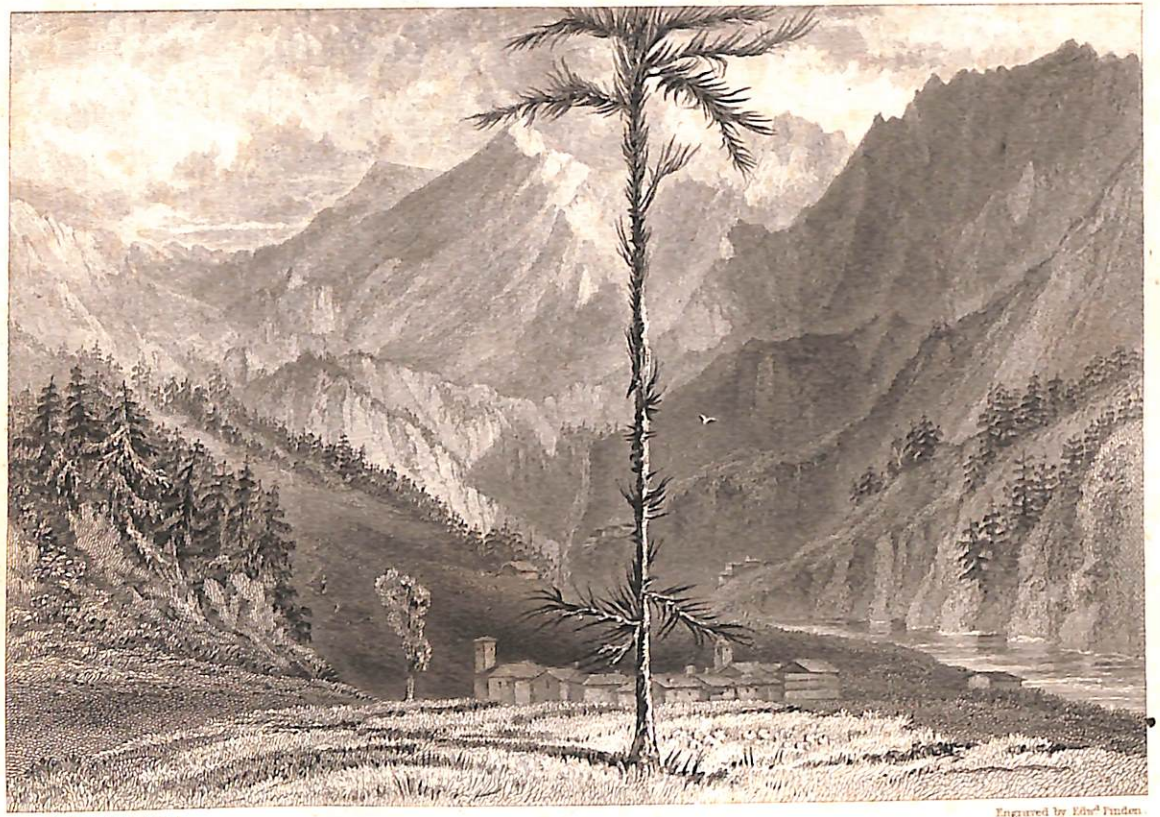
We have still to account for the twelve poor wanderers, who strayed on the night after the desertion of the Aiguille. They at first concealed themselves in a large cave above Essart, which they dared not quit, lest their traces on the snow should lead to their discovery. At the end of some days, however, extreme hunger overcame all feeling of fear. One Sunday, then, when it snowed very hard, they ventured out in search of a little corn or flour, and on the following morning were tracked on the snow by some peasants, who, to the number of 125, immediately commenced their pursuit; they were not overtaken till they had secured a very advantageous position on the summit of the mountain, and here they gave such a reception to the peasants as induced them to offer a truce. The latter confessed a loss of twelve killed on the spot and thirteen wounded, while our little band did not lose a man. Well may this rencounter be termed marvellous. Twelve men, half dead

with fatigue, hunger, and cold, make head against one hundred and twenty-five, effect the above-mentioned slaughter, and are permitted to retire undisturbed!

Having passed over precipices the bare idea of which might alarm the boldest hearts, they retreated into the cavern of Biava. At the end of two days they found the cold so intense as to render longer existence there impossible; they therefore resolved to retire to the banks of the torrent of Lauze, concealing themselves there for the winter, and, in case of discovery, to shed the last drop of their blood on the point of some rock. With this melancholy resolution they set out on their march, which was suddenly interrupted by the appearance of an armed force. Ever apprehensive of an enemy, they shrunk behind the corner of a projecting rock, and having discharged a volley, had at once the delight and the pain of recognising the supposed foe as a party of their brethren, and themselves as the instruments of death to one of them. This party had been despatched in search of them from the valley of St. Martin, and having thus found them, wept for joy at the meeting, and for sorrow at the loss of their unfortunate

brother, who had fallen a sacrifice to it. They then crossed the Col du Julien and entered the Balsille, which they found under a process of intrenchment by the main body, whose history will be resumed in the following chapter.

PROVINCIA DI TORINO



Drawn by Hugh Dyke Acland

Engraved by Edwd Finden

PRAH.

CHAPTER VI.

Containing an account of the occurrences up to the commencement of the second campaign.

It has been mentioned, at the end of the third chapter, that the Marquis of Parelle having withdrawn his forces to the valley of Perouse, left the main body of the Vaudois in undisturbed possession of the valley of St. Martin. This interval, though short, was of infinite service to the Vaudois, as it enabled them partially to collect the harvest, and to lay up magazines of provisions for the approaching winter.

A month having thus passed away, a French force suddenly appeared above Rodoret: expresses were instantly sent to Prali requesting immediate assistance. The Vaudois, who were there, departed the same evening, and arrived at Rodoret several hours before daybreak. Shortly after their arrival they discovered some troops on the top of the mountain, and were deceived into an idea that they were friends; nor did they dis-

cover their mistake till, having advanced within musket-shot, they received the fire of the enemy. Their surprise was so great that they instantly fled in confusion: some, after crossing tremendous mountains in the direction of the valley of Luzerne, accidentally joined the party who had lost the position at the Aiguille, as was mentioned in page 124th; others lost all courage and deserted; while the remainder, averse to both of these steps, retired for the night to the alp of Salsa, and on the following morning were united with the main body.

On the 16th of October the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered by Mons. Arnaud, in a meadow near Besse. On the same day, the Marquis of Parelle having again crossed the mountain of Buffa in the night, descended on Villeseche. The Vaudois retreated at his approach, and were obliged to submit to the painful sight of the destruction of every thing by fire, from Villeseche to Perrier. Yet such was the fear with which they had inspired their enemies, that the Marquis de Parelle was compelled to have recourse to execution in order to check the complaint among his troops, that they were led on to a slaughter-house. Nor were the

Vaudois in fact inactive; for a detachment of 100 men, directed to harass the enemy, actually carried off a convoy in the face of two of his battalions.

Still the situation of these brave men was daily becoming more precarious: a detachment of the enemy had been observed advancing from their quarters at Salabertrann; 2000 French troops had entered the valley of St. Martin from the Prajelas, and occupied Salsa; and the Marquis de Parelle succeeded, by a feint, in gaining possession of the Col du Clapier. Amidst these difficulties they were also harassed by the infidelity of a spy, which, though it did not induce any fatal event, added greatly and uselessly to their toils.

They had also to regret the diminution of their numbers by desertion. Among the most melancholy instances of this sort was the following: the Captain Fonfrede with his lieutenant and twenty soldiers, though discovered, and prevented in their first attempt, eventually succeeded. These wretched men were shortly afterwards taken by the enemy, and though no longer in arms with the Vaudois, were immediately

hung, with the exception of Antoine Belion, who ended his days a prisoner in the citadel of Pignerol.

About the same time, letters were distributed among the Vaudois from a Swiss captain in the enemy's service, quartered at Perouse. He offered to admit any of them into his own company, and promised them the kindest reception, setting before them the desertion of Captain Turel as an example. It would seem that he was ignorant of the fate of this Turel, or that he presumed the Vaudois were so; and was answered, that the case of this unfortunate man was indeed a fine mirror*.

In the mean time the French were constantly approaching; and the detachments ordered to harass them in their march found that they could no longer resist so great a superiority of numbers. Retreating with difficulty among the rocks, they joined the main body one evening at Rodoret, while the French, who had taken possession of Salsa, were at a distance only of

* It has been mentioned in a former page, that Captain Turel, being taken by the French after he had deserted the Vaudois, perished on the wheel at Grenoble.

three leagues over one small mountain. As it was clear that Rodoret was no longer tenable, a council of war was called in the night.

The danger of the Vaudois, at this moment, may be conceived from the necessity of having a guard on the Collet, the mountain between Salsa and Rodoret, to prevent a surprise during this nocturnal deliberation.

Much diversity of opinion arose among the deliberators. Some recommended a retreat into the neighbourhood of Bobi, and others on the side of Angrogna. Neither party was inclined to adopt the opinion of the other; and in adhering each to his own course, both were on the point of rushing to destruction.

Mons. Arnaud now came forward, and said that, in such distress, they ought to have recourse to God. Prayers were immediately and unanimously offered up. Mons. Arnaud then urged on them the absolute necessity of union, and pointed out that neither of the plans proposed was advisable, as the Aiguille, a position necessary in each case, was in the hands of the enemy. He then proposed the Balsi as the post, the occupation of which offered the most advan-

tages. This proposal was instantly agreed to, and as quickly acted upon.

It was, however, deemed expedient to heighten the intrenchments on the side by which the enemy would approach Rodoret, in order to deceive him into the idea that the Vaudois were still there, and determined on a desperate resistance. This was done in order to gain time on the following morning.

A great part of the night having been thus occupied, the Vaudois commenced their march about two hours before daylight; and so intense was the darkness that, in order to be seen, the guides wore the whitest linen over their shoulders. As Salsa was, of course, to be avoided, their road lay necessarily among frightful precipices; so that they were constantly obliged to creep on their hands and feet. The confusion consequent on such difficulties offered an opportunity for the remaining hostages to escape, as well it might, when every man had enough to do in taking care of his own neck. Those who have not seen such places can form no notion of the danger, and those, who have, may be inclined to discredit this statement. It is, nevertheless,

perfectly true; and, moreover, many who performed this dangerous exploit, have since visited the scene by day, and were struck with horror at the recollection that they passed in darkness over spots which they never would have traversed in light*.

At last, they arrived at the Balsi, and took up the position which was called the castle, in the unalterable resolution to await their enemies with firmness, and no longer encounter the fatigue of running from mountain to mountain.

In order to maintain this post the more successfully, they immediately commenced a regular process of intrenchment. Covert ways and walls were constructed, and cabins, to the number of eighty, were dug in the ground and surrounded

* This account appears so extravagant, that the following observation will not, perhaps, be inappropriate.

One great danger among precipices is the vertigo occasioned by seeing through the depth below. This is removed by darkness. I can appeal, too, to more than one of my countrymen in support of the truth that, in the steepest descents when once commenced, feeling, as much as sight, is to be depended on. "La tête en arriere;" "Il faut bien accrôcher la tête," were the directions of a Vaudois guide, to an Englishman descending a rock above Salaterbrann. Moreover, the Vaudois were encountering the least of two dangers. —Ed.

with drains. The walls were such as the soil would permit them to make, and backed by a ditch which might assist the defending party in case of a breach. They were seventeen in number, one above the other; so that when driven from one, they might retreat behind the next; and thus the enemy be compelled to a succession of attacks of the same dangerous nature, even to the summit of the mountain. A guard was mounted every evening, to protect the bridge, the mill, and the entrance of the path to the Balsi. The mill, indeed, was at first of no service, for there was no grinding-stone to it. But two of the Vaudois, natives of the village of Balsi, mentioned that they had thrown it, more than three years before, into the river, saying at the time, "that the day may arrive when it will be useful*." It was soon recovered from the bed of the Germanesque, and restored to its ancient place, where it performed its proper office during the whole time that the Vaudois maintained themselves in the Balsi. They had another mill at Macelle, half a league from their

* This circumstance shows that, even as early as their expulsion, an idea of return into their native valleys existed among the Vaudois.—ED.

quarters; but the road to it was exposed: it was not, therefore, so much used as the other; yet as one was not altogether sufficient, some persons would run all risks in frequenting it.

When the enemy arrived at Rodoret, the morning after the nocturnal flight of the Vaudois, he was in no small astonishment at their absence. The French, under the command of Mons. de l' Ombrail, could not conceive where, nor how, those people had retreated with their ammunition, who had left, as a mark of their late presence, so much bread, wine, chestnuts, and other provisions. They presumed, however, that they should find our little band at Prali, and immediately marched thither. Again disappointed, they remained there some days, and then proceeded to occupy the principal posts in the valley of St. Martin, while the duke's forces, according to a concerted plan, took possession of the Col du Julien; and thus cut off all communication with the valley of Luzerne.

The Vaudois, for the better security of the Balsi, kept an advanced guard at a place called Passet. The enemy discovered and attacked this guard; and ably taking advantage of a thick fog, succeeded in dislodging it. It was, indeed,

an evident interposition of Providence, that not one of the Vaudois should have been lost on this occasion. For the French, aware that their manœuvre could not be observed, left a handful of men to make much noise in front of the post, and succeeded in gaining the rear, and attacking the guard by surprise.

Having thus opened an approach to the Balsi, the enemy, on Friday, the 29th of October, advanced in a body to attack the Vaudois in their intrenchments. For this purpose, he appointed several detachments, who remained, from Friday to Sunday evening, in woods almost uninhabitable. During all this time they were exposed to an incessant snow, and so overwhelmed with cold, that, as was afterwards discovered, many of them were frozen in their feet. Had this distressed state of their enemy been known in time to the Vaudois, important advantages might have resulted.

During this blockade, terms were repeatedly offered to the besieged, and as often rejected. An attempt on the part of the French, to cross the bridge, and burn the village of the Balsi, was in the first instance abortive; but, being repeated, it obtained partial success, though at

the expense of not less than sixty lives, without any loss on the side of the Vaudois.

Finding that all efforts for the reduction of the Balsi were ineffectual, suffering from the weather, and in dread of the desultory attacks of the Vaudois, the French, at the end of a week, fell back on Macelle and Salsa. They still retained possession of the Col du Classier, a principal key of communication with the valley of Prajelas. As it was of importance to the Vaudois to be able to pass into that valley, to procure provisions, a strong detachment was ordered to attack the French guard. They did so with the most decided success; many of the French were slain; and the Vaudois lost one of their captains, who died of a wound in the shoulder from want of proper remedies.

Some days afterwards, three natives of the valleys, renegades to their faith, came to visit the Vaudois, accompanied by the sister of Jean Frache, who commanded the company of La Tour.

One of them having observed that the mill at Macelle was unprotected, no sooner returned to Bobi, than he transported himself to Perouse, to inform Mons. de l' Ombraille, that some of the

Vaudois might easily be caught while grinding corn there. A detachment of 500 men was immediately ordered for the mighty purpose of breaking up a mill and the apprehension of a few stragglers. Some Vaudois were discovered making bread in a neighbouring village, all of whom escaped with the exception of three French refugees. Two of these, who were sick, were shot, while running away in no clothing but their shirts. Their heads were cut off, and the third, who had been made prisoner, was compelled to carry them to Perouse.

The Juge du Pays, though a Romanist, interceded in this man's behalf; but Mons. de l' Ombraille, in his zeal for extermination, threatened, in reply, to hang his intercessor with him. The pious courage and resignation with which this poor refugee met his death, is worthy of particular mention. His last prayer was offered up in so affecting a tone of simplicity and fervour, that none of those who assisted at his execution could refrain from tears. When he had ascended the ladder, he assured the judges and chief executioner, that he was well pleased to die, seeing that his death was a sacrifice to a just cause, and a pure religion. He reproved their

hopes of ultimately destroying the Vaudois, stating, that their situation was not so bad as was supposed; for they had plenty of bread, corn, salt, and powder; and he prophesied that, in the stead of one man taken away from them, many would be raised up by the arm of God—a prophecy partly verified after the proclamation of peace from their sovereign, which happened some months afterwards. It was, indeed, in the service of charity that this man met his death; for he had gone out of the Balsi on the morning of the day on which he was taken, only to administer to his two sick brethren, and assist them, if possible, to return.

This is not an unfit opportunity to express the gratitude of the Vaudois to another French refugee, Mons. Huc. He served them from the beginning in the capacity of lieutenant; and so distinguished were his zeal and fidelity that, after the Vaudois were reconciled to the duke, he was appointed captain of a company by his Britannic majesty, and was invested with the same rank by the United States of Holland. This slight digression in praise of this man is the more due to him, because he contributed largely by his notes to the correct recital of facts in this little history.

Suffering under the inclemency of the season, and disappointed by the obstinacy of the Vaudois, the French now resolved on deserting the higher parts of the valley of St. Martin. They destroyed the villages, burnt the granges and barns, and carried off every thing which was transportable; and having bid the Vaudois expect them again at Easter, they fell back on Maneille and Perier, without having dared to attempt the intrenchments of the Balsi. Nor did they neglect to secure themselves from being insulted in their winter quarters, by completely intrenching all their guard-houses and advanced posts.

This retreat, sufficiently disgraceful to the enemy, left the Vaudois at liberty to breathe a little more freely. They were, indeed, now reduced to the number of 400, and were threatened with fresh hostilities; but this did not alarm them; they were in the habit of implicitly confiding on God, who had so visibly delivered them from the hands of their enemies, and from the famine by which their destruction had been so confidently foretold.

Nor let it be supposed that the decided interposition of Providence in their behalf is rashly

inferred: not only did the Vaudois, on their first return into the valleys of their inheritance, find an abundance of produce reaped to their hands, or ready to be reaped, but, owing to an early fall of snow, they were prevented from immediately reaping a part which ultimately proved their only means of subsistence. Had the entire crops been collected, they must have shared the fate of the magazines and barns burnt by the French previously to their retreat into winter quarters. But a part was preserved alike from the Vaudois and their foes, to supply the former in the spring, when their winter stock would be consumed. During the months of February and March large quantities of corn were extricated from the snow, in very tolerable condition, after being eighteen months in the ground. And is it not miraculous, that a few hundred persons, imprisoned, as it were, by two powerful armies, in a spot whence they dared not apparently show their faces, and where cold might be presumed to be a sufficient enemy, should nevertheless repulse their attackers, lay the neighbouring villages under contribution, and finally effect their escape? The Vaudois now enjoyed a period of comparative quiet.

Mons. Arnaud preached two sermons every Sunday, one on Thursday, and read prayers publicly every morning and evening. After the morning prayer, the detachments selected for the purpose beat up their own valley to collect the corn, that of Prajelas in quest of bread, and the Val du Quayras to obtain salt and meat.

Among other places frequently visited in these excursions was the little town of Bourset. The sindic, annoyed by the frequency of these visits, represented to the detachment that the inhabitants would prefer paying a certain contribution, and requested that three or four of the principal Vaudois would come there, on a fixed day, with an escort, to agree on the necessary conditions. He invited the captain to partake of his hospitality, and gave him a note expressing that he had an advantageous communication to make to the main body. Accordingly, on the appointed day, the Vaudois sent the captain Michael Bertin with some soldiers. No sooner, however, had he reached Bourset, than he found himself in an ambuscade of 200 Frenchmen, invited for that purpose by the sindic. Their fire took immediate effect on the captain, whose head

they afterwards cut off. Two soldiers were also wounded, and scarcely one escaped without shot-holes in his clothes.

This black act of treachery cost the enemy dear, and did not much benefit the arch-traitor. The French in their pursuit discovered a handful of Vaudois on the Col du Clapier; and in attempting to surprise them were themselves surprised by another detachment, and routed with a loss of sixty men killed and wounded. The Vaudois then burnt all the houses in the neighbourhood of Bourset, and the entire village of Tronchée. The sindic had also the pleasure of having a French garrison quartered on his town, at an expense to which he was compelled to be the principal contributor.

At the same time that the French had retired from the higher parts of the valley of St. Martin, the duke's forces withdrew from the Col du Julien, and evacuated Bobi, which place was immediately taken possession of by some Vaudois. A party of these, in opposition to the advice of their comrades, made an excursion in the direction of the enemy, and even approached his advanced posts. Here they discovered three

soldiers, on their road to the fort of Mirabouc, one of whom they shot. They found on his person letters to the governor of that place, containing essential information. It is worthy of remark, that these messengers had departed from Briquieras as the Vaudois had from Bobi, in direct opposition to the advice of their respective comrades, and also that, of three, the one should be shot who was the bearer of the letters.

Nothing of interest occurred during the months of February and March, if we except a constant intercourse by letter between the Vaudois at the Balsi and their relations and friends who were under the government of the enemy. The tendency of all these letters* was to induce

* All these letters are inserted in the original, but have not interest enough to claim the attention of the reader. They are evidently written under the influence of high authorities, who assisted in sending them, and sometimes openly took part in them. The following, from a person of rank, whose name is concealed, is inserted, as Mons. Arnaud seems to have considered it written in good part.

"As I perceive you are on the point of being overwhelmed by the multitude of troops sent by the king to dislodge you, and as they are commanded by Mons. de l'Ombraille, who is worse than a devil, and has occupied all the posts around you, I have thought fit to hazard my own life, and that of

the Vaudois, individually or generally, to resign their obstinate defence, which could only end, according to the writers, in the destruction of the whole body, and to throw themselves on the mercy of the duke. The Vaudois, however, convinced by experience of the danger of an uncompromising surrender to their prince, paid no attention to these arguments. The soldiers, indeed, expressed their displeasure at the excessive complacency of the officers in permitting the messengers to enter the Balsi, and thus perform the office of spies.

On the 17th of April terms of surrender* were proposed to the Vaudois, directly from the Marquis de Parelle. A council of war was called

the bearer's, in order to acquaint you that, in case of a frank submission, you would receive good quarter. I beg that you will answer me secretly, as I should be ruined were this to come to the ears of Mons. l'Ombraille. I send this messenger for your good; endeavour to send him back so that he may not be seen. I hope all will go on well, and entreat you to consider on what I suggest.

"I remain, with the strongest interest,

"Your obedient humble servant."

"To Mons. Arnaud and the other officers of the Vaudois."

The answer to this letter is not preserved.—Ed.

* These do not appear in the original.—Ed.

to deliberate on them, who returned the following answer.

" My lord,

" It is not the first time that the people of the valleys have to recognise your interest in their affairs. You still continue, my lord, to bestow on us marks of your generosity, by sending messengers to us with propositions affecting our public weal. Having assembled in council, we take the liberty of writing to your excellency, entreating that you will prolong your good offices, by submitting the following representations, on our part, to his royal highness the Duke of Savoy.

" 1st. That his subjects in the valleys have been in possession of their estates from time immemorial, having received them by inheritance from their ancestors.

" 2dly. That they have at all times faithfully paid the imposts and subsidies which it has been his pleasure to require.

" 3dly. That they have, in all commotions of the state, rigidly obeyed his royal highness's orders.

" 4thly. That, at the time when the last

persecution was instituted against his faithful subjects, from another source than his royal highness, there was not one criminal process throughout the valleys. Each Vaudois was dwelling peaceably in his own home, rendering to God the worship which is his due, and unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's. That, notwithstanding this fidelity, this people found themselves, after much suffering in prisons, scattered wanderers through the world.

"Your excellence will not deem it strange, that we should have had at heart a desire to return to our own land. Alas! the birds, who have no reason, return in their season to their nests and their dwelling-place; nor does any one hinder them: but this liberty is now refused to men, created in the image of God.

"It is not the intention of the Vaudois to shed blood, unless in the defence of their own. They would do wrong to no man, in dwelling on their own property; but they would become, as formerly, good and faithful subjects of his royal highness, whom God has set over them as king.

"With submission, therefore, we entreat your excellency to support and advocate this just re-

monstrance, and to believe that, as we have long known your excellency, so we hold your person in the highest estimation. We shall redouble our prayers for your preservation, and also for that of his royal highness. And, above all, we shall pray to the Eternal, that his anger, which appears incensed against all Europe, be abated *.

" If your excellency may deign to honour us with an answer, the two bearers will bring it in safety.

" We hope that, in all these things, good faith will be observed towards us, which it is our pride to keep, on our parts, as it is also to be

" Your excellency's

" Most obedient and humble servants,

(Signed for all the Vaudois) " HENRI ARNAUD.

" P. P. ODIN."

Another letter, to the same purport†, and dwelling forcibly on their right to return to the

* In allusion to the wars which then desolated Europe.—ED.

† This letter is at length in the original, but is omitted here, as it is merely a recapitulation of the previous statement.—ED.

land of their inheritance, was addressed to the Chevalier Vercelles, who commanded the fort of La Tour.

The spring was now advancing, and all attempts at conciliation were at an end. The Vaudois were assured of a speedy and desperate attack; but, in the mean time, lost no opportunity of harassing their implacable foes.

A detachment was sent into the neighbourhood of Pramol, where they attacked and pursued an advanced guard, burnt several houses, and pushed forward as far as St. Germain. Here they were opposed by a larger force, and lost two men killed and three wounded. The enemy, however, confessed that this incursion of the Vaudois had been fatal to not less than 120 of his troops and peasantry. A large number of cattle were also taken; and though many were left on the road, the remainder were of great use at the Balsi, especially in restoring strength to the sick.

About this time a messenger from Switzerland arrived at the Balsi, who gave great hopes of a reinforcement. He also brought information of the melancholy result of the expedition, attempted under the command of Bourgeois, the

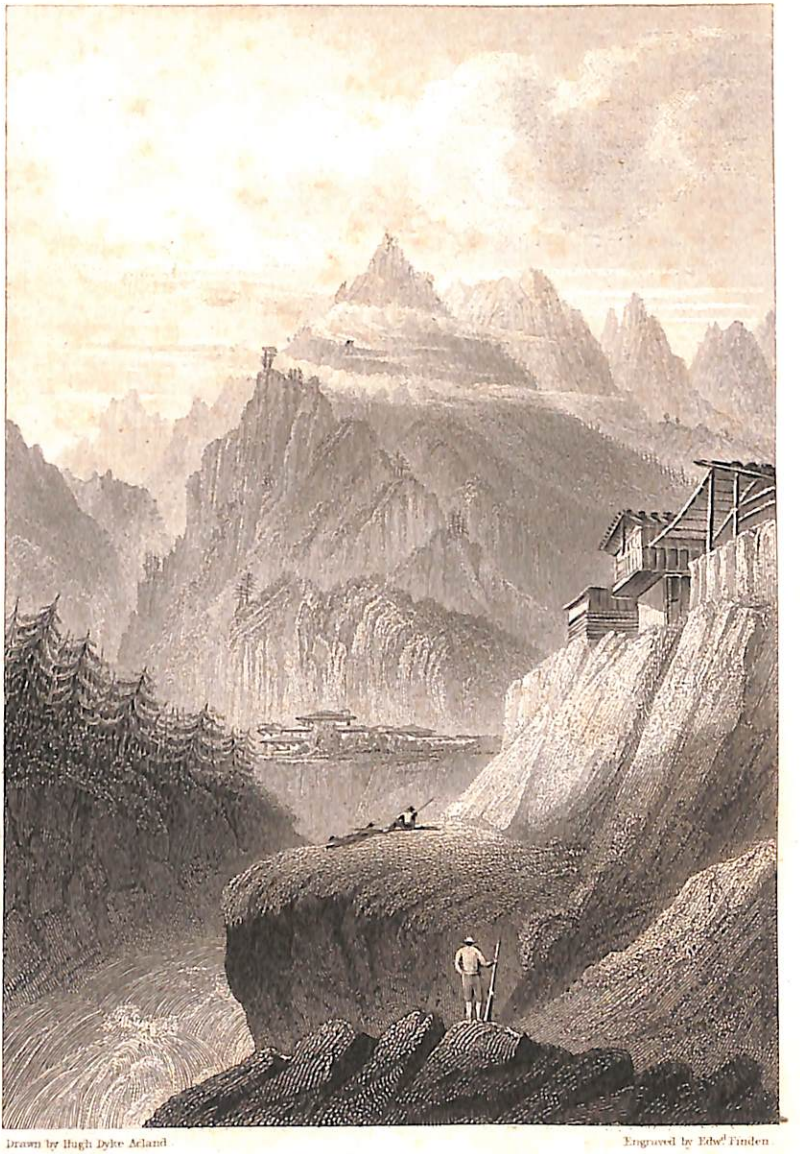
details of which shall be related at another time. This messenger was betrayed on his return, arrested at Susa, and sent to the dungeons at Turin.

Some French soldiers now advanced from Maneille to Macelle, and planted ten picquets there, and were strenuous in their endeavours to provoke desertion among the Vaudois.

On the 22d of April, a detachment of 100 Vaudois made a sortie with a view to surprise the convoy which passed every other day from Perier to Maneille. They shot ten or twelve soldiers at the bridge of La Tour, and retired without any loss, after having burnt the enemy's barracks at Penet. These and some other trifling advantages did not prevent their affairs from assuming, every day, a more critical appearance.

This history is indeed a drama, in which, the nearer we approach to the catastrophe, the more we shall feel alarmed for the fate of the principal characters.

PROVINCIA DI TORINO



Drawn by Hugh Dyke Acland

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THE BALSI.

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CHAPTER VII.

Containing an account of the second attack on the Balsi.

On Sunday morning, the last day of April, the Vaudois perceived some movements of the French, indicating a determination to execute their threats of the preceding autumn. Troops were observed to defile along the bottom of the valley, and over the passes of the Cols du Clapier and du Pis. The latter division remained two days upon the mountain on the snows, and without fire, lest their approach should be discovered. This delay was in order that all the divisions might reach their appointed posts at the same time, so that no chance of escape to the Vaudois should be left. Fourteen hundred peasants had been employed to clear the roads over the mountains and carry provisions.

Before we proceed farther in this account, it will be proper to give a more minute description of the Balsi, or (as it was called) the Castle. It is a lofty and very steep rock, rising by three different terraces, on the top of each of which is

a small flat space, in which a sort of barracks had been excavated in the ground. It possesses also three springs. It has been mentioned that intrenchments had been constructed, and these were pierced with loop-holes. Each post was also provided with a large store of stones to hurl on the heads of the assailants. The access to it is everywhere difficult; the side on which it is the least so is from a torrent which runs at its feet. As this was the only side on which an attack could be made, Mons. Arnaud had caused it to be fortified by good palisades and parapets of dry wall. Moreover, trees had been cut down, and so disposed, that the branches should be opposed to the assailants. A layer of trees was loaded with large stones, on which were again placed trees, secured in the same manner, and so on.

The enemy, however, imagined that nothing could resist him in an attack on so small a force, and immediately made his dispositions.

A body of dismounted dragoons encamped, on the Monday morning, in a wood to the left of the Balsi. On the same day they crossed the torrent, and took up a position along its side, so that its bank might cover them from the fire of

the Vaudois. In this, however, they were deceived, for they suffered severely. Some hundred of his royal highness's troops did no more than occupy their appointed position, being willing perhaps to cede to the French the glory of the impending attack, a glory which the latter would very willingly have resigned. The main body of the enemy approached from the valley and attempted to possess themselves of the ruins of the village, but were repulsed with a heavy loss. An engineer now examined the spot more attentively with a telescope, and recommended an attack on the right.

Ten thousand French troops, and 12,000 of those of his royal highness, were to be witnesses, though not altogether idly so, of this attempt. Five hundred picked men, chosen by order of Mons. de Catinat, immediately proceeded to make it. Covered by the fire of their main body, they gallantly gained the first barricade of trees; this their utmost efforts were unable to remove. The length of the trees was now the distance between them and the Vaudois, who opened a tremendous fire, which quickly stretched on the ground the major part of those who had been thus led on to be butchered. The younger

soldiers among the besieged were employed in loading muskets for the older and more perfect marksmen. When the confusion of the assailants was complete, the Vaudois sallied from their intrenchments, and cut to pieces the remainder of the detachment, with the exception of ten or twelve, who lived to report to Mons. Catinat the result of the attack so disastrous to the French, and honourable to the Vaudois. Mons. de Parat, who commanded the assault, was found between two rocks, wounded in the thigh and arm, and was conveyed a prisoner into the very barrack which, only a few hours before, he had pointed out to his men with this expression, "My lads, we must sleep there to-night!" Two sergeants were also captured. These were afterwards unfortunately shot while attempting to make their escape, it being important to the Vaudois that their condition, so accurately known to these men, who had then been prisoners some days, should not be reported to the enemy.

The most astonishing fact of this bloody day is, that the Vaudois did not lose a man.

The French, in their astonishment, fell back, the same evening, on Macelle; and the Piemontese, who had been inactive spectators of the

defeat of the French, and the gallantry of the Vaudois, encamped on the Champ de Salsa. On the following morning, Mons. de Parat was informed that it would be necessary for him to send for a surgeon to dress his wounds, as the one who had been so fortunately captured near Angrogna the preceding year had died only a few days before the assault. He accordingly wrote a note requesting the attendance of the surgeon of his staff. The note was attached to a stick which was fixed in the ground near Maneille.

The surgeon shortly arrived, but on some doubt being expressed as to his skill by Mons. de Parat, desired to return: but he was placed under guard, and obliged to extend his attendance to the sick and wounded among the Vaudois. The following order from Mons. de Catinat relative to this unsuccessful assault was found on the person of Mons. de Parat.

"*Order for the Regiment D'Artois.*

"The colonel will select 500 of the best men of his regiment, including serjeants and drums, with ten captains, ten lieutenants, and ten sub-lieutenants.

"He will order four days' biscuit to be served out to these men as they pass through Perouse, and will give them notice to provide themselves with other provisions for the same number of days. Three hundred pounds of powder and ball, and one hundred of match, will also be given to them.

"He will march on the 28th, and encamp on the same day at Chios, otherwise called the Clos de Malonot.

"On the 29th he will halt near Maneille, a little above it, in the direction for the Col du Clapier.

"Fifty tents, and as many kettles, are to be taken with them.

"At Maneille a detachment is to be formed of fifty men and two serjeants, commanded by a captain, one lieutenant, and two sub-lieutenants, who shall occupy that post on the morning of the 30th, whence the regiment of Cambresis, according to orders which it has received, will march forward.

"The fifty tents and kettles will be left with the detachment of fifty men at Maneille.

"Care will be taken that these soldiers are provided with hatchets, that they may cut wood for firing.

"They will be provided with small nails to fix in the heels of their shoes*."

When Mons. de Parat was asked how many men the attacking detachment was composed of, he replied, 450 soldiers and 700 peasants: but, a few days afterwards, some Vaudois were told in the Prajelas, that there were 7000† soldiers,

* So particular an order for 500 men on this affair may appear to militate against Henri Arnaud's account of the large force employed in it. It will shortly be seen, in an account from the French camp itself, that six other regiments, besides a detachment of Savoyards, received direct orders for the same service.

It would then rather appear, that the obstinate bravery of the Vaudois was so well known to Marechal Catinat, that he deemed it necessary to select a crack regiment for the most decisive assault. This notion is supported by the fact, implied in his orders, that the regiment D'Artois was much farther removed from the scene of action than some others. That of Cambresis was at Maneille, not more than five leagues from the Bahi, while that of Artois was on the other side of Perouse, which is at least double that distance.

The occupation of Maneille by a detachment of the same regiment, the care taken about tents, kettles, and firewood, were probably only so many precautions of a wise officer in case of a severe suffering in wounded, a precaution which the event proved to be well justified.

† Including, no doubt, the regiments alluded to in the preceding note, who were present at the assault, though not actually engaged in it.

and as many peasants, and that the killed and wounded amounted to 400.

On Thursday the enemy, distressed with fatigue and confusion, and half dead from the sufferings incidental to mountain warfare, retired within the French territory to recruit; expressing, at the same time, their determination to return, being unable to swallow the disgrace, and willing to perish rather than fail in their object. On the same day Mons. Arnaud preached, according to custom, and so affected were they all by the late event, that when he dwelt on it in his discourse, the whole congregation shed tears.

The reader will perhaps be interested in the following account of this affair, which was sent from the enemy's camp.

"Mons. de Catinat, lieutenant-general in the French army, on his return into Piemont received orders for the extermination of the Vaudois, with an implied expectation that he would succeed better than Mons. de l'Ombraille, with whose conduct his court was far from satisfied.

"The recent snows were an obstacle to this purpose, which, however, at the beginning of May, the lieutenant-general could no longer defer, on account of his other duties.

" Having resolved on making the attempt, he determined to surround the Vaudois, so that he might annihilate them at one effort.

" With this view he reconnoitred the position occupied by these people, who are also called Barbets.

" He found it was situated in the valley of St. Martin, bearing the name of the Balsi, near the foot of a line of mountain projecting between the Guignevert, the highest of these alps, on one side, and the Col du Pis on the other.

" The access to this spot appeared almost impracticable, as it rises in the shape of a cone, and is broken towards the top into distinct rocky points, which serve the purposes of so many forts, the natural strength of which had been increased by intrenchments.

" Mons. de Catinat however undertook to make himself master both of the Balsi and the Fortin*, for the capture of the one without the other would have been useless, as a secure retreat would still have remained for the Vaudois.

" In order that the force should be amply

* This writer thus distinguishes the highest point of the Balsi irom the lower part; a distinction still sometimes made by the inhabitants of that part of the valleys.

sufficient, Mons. de Catinat ordered on the attack the regiments of Bourbon, Vexin, Cambresis, Artois, Lasarre, and Duplessis, with the dragoons of Languedoc, and 400 Savoyards, furnished by the duke, under the command of Mons. de Rouanette.

" They were disposed in the following order.

" The regiments of Cambresis, Vexin, and Duplessis, with the Savoyards, were to attack the Fortin, which communicates with the Balsi by the series of rocky points already mentioned. Mons. de Catinat put himself at the head of the regiments of Bourbon, Artois, and Lasarre, and the dragoons of Languedoc, to carry the Balsi.

" In order to ensure success against the Fortin it was thought necessary to obtain possession of the heights on either side, viz. the Guignevert on the left, and the Col du Pis on the right. The regiment of Cambresis with the Savoyards took to the left, and that of Duplessis to the right. It was with the greatest difficulty that the ascent of the Guignevert was effected. The intention was to reach the summit on the morning of the second day, and then to make a simultaneous attack. But the fear of the insurmountable difficulties generally produced by

night on the side of so precipitous a mountain induced those employed on this service to make every effort to gain the summit on the first day. Three long leagues of the ascent lay over ground of such a nature that the soldiers could not look back without being giddy; the snow also was so deep that the assistance of the pioneers was at all times necessary. They at length fortunately gained the summit before dark: fortunately, it is said, for immediately on their arrival there came on so heavy a snow-storm, and so thick a fog, that had they been still on their march they would infallibly have perished among the precipices.

"The idea of this escape was their only consolation in spending a night on the top of a frightful mountain, without water, wood, or tents, amidst wind, snow, and hail, which never ceased. Thus, on the following morning, the regiment of Cambresis and the Savoyards were seen in possession of the Guignevert, while those of Vexin and Duplessis occupied the Col du Pis.

"The two latter were three leagues in advance of Cambresis, and two at least in advance of the Savoyards, who had received orders to

take possession of the Pelvou, another horrible mountain, as the only passage by which the Vaudois could escape when they should be driven from their hold. This latter event, however, it was soon perceived, was much farther off than had been expected.

"Vexin and Duplessis formed, at ten o'clock, in two columns, for the attack. For the space of an hour they advanced in good order and abreast, but, at the end of that time, the left column was obliged to remount and join the right, finding progress impracticable in its own line.

"Having surmounted incredible difficulties, they at last arrived at the edge of a rock so abrupt that they dared not descend it. At the bottom of this, and at the distance of a musket-shot, was the Fortin, the intervening space between which and the rock was intersected by three strong intrenchments. The pioneers were ordered into the front, and occupied three hours in rendering the approach practicable. This being done, the period had arrived when we thought ourselves secure of the Vaudois.

"At this instant a fog so dense, and a storm so horrible, arose, that a large part of the regi-

ments, including myself and several officers, who had often witnessed the same accidents at equally critical moments, were convinced that Heaven took a visible interest in the preservation of this little people. This circumstance now declared in their favour, as the attack was immediately abandoned; both French and Savoyards expecting to be swallowed up in the ravines and lavanges*. In fact a retreat was effected by them almost by miracle, across frightful precipices, leaping from rock to rock during three hours, and sometimes up to the arms in snow for half an hour together.

"In the attack below on the Balsi, the French met with worse success; for hardships and fright were the only penalties in the one case, but in the other these served only as appendages to ruin and slaughter.

"On hearing the firing from above, which was to serve as a signal for the attack on his side, Mons. de Catinat ordered the grenadiers of Lasarre, Bourbon, and Artois, in front.

"Notwithstanding the extreme strength of the

* Shifting drifts of snow (the wind-lauinen of the Swiss Alps), differing from avalanches, commonly so called, in their less degree of compactness and velocity.

Balsi, there is an approach of about 200 paces, though so steep and uneven that it is difficult to stand on. The difficulty of ascending under a tremendous fire may be conceived. The French, however, effected this with their customary gallantry, without being alarmed at the heavy fall of dead and wounded comrades over whom they had to march. But when they were so close to the palisades as to lay hold of them, a shower of stones was hurled on them, which, in addition to the injury they inflicted, blocked up the little room which was left for passing.

"The assailants were compelled to abandon their enterprise, which they did with their usual precipitation, when once overtaken by fear. The Vaudois now made a terrible carnage, killing 200 of our soldiers, besides about twenty officers. The Marquis de Brae, colonel of Lasarre, was wounded, but not dangerously, and Mons. de Parat, lieutenant-colonel of Artois, was wounded and made prisoner. He had advanced too far in front, by way of atonement for taking up his position too late. Two serjeants, worthy of immortal praise, failing in an attempt to carry him off, remained with him, preferring every danger to the desertion of their officer. The Vaudois,

contrary to their custom, have treated the lieutenant-colonel well: they have allowed a surgeon to go to his assistance, and his servant to wait on him. This throws doubt on a subsequent report that they destroyed the serjeants, whose fidelity, doubtless, deserved a better fate.

"Such is the result of this famous attack, so long projected, and which was to have ended in the destruction of all the barbets, who would have been hung before the expiration of six hours. An opposite effect has been produced; for so inflated are these people by their success, that they have presumed to make a sortie on our rear-guard, in which they effected some slaughter during our retreat from the mountain. It is said that about twenty of them fell by an ambuscade; but this does not seem likely.

"Mons. de Catinat has retired to Pignerol, to take command of 20,000 men, destined to invade the Milanese."

The reader will select for himself from the above narrative what he may conceive to be true, after comparing it with our own simple statement of facts. We entreat him to consider the reasons we gave for putting to death the two serjeants, which would, indeed, have been an

inhuman measure, unless urged by the principle of self-preservation.

Moreover, it is not here proposed to justify every act of the Vaudois. However venerable and ancient may be their name, it does not exempt them from the common frailty of men.

Some talismans, or preservatives, as they are called, were found on the persons of the slain, copies of which are submitted for the inspection of the curious. The originals have been preserved.

† Agva † Batome. †

Piscina Christus quæ nobis sit Cibus Bovrus. P. 1690.

Ecce cru † cem Domini
Nostri Jesu Christi fugite
Partes adversæ vici leo
Detribu Juda radix David
Allel. Allel. ex S. Anton.
De Pad. homo natus est
In ea Jesus Maria
Franciscus sunt mihi salus*.

* Arnaud has given copies of others. The reader will

When the French retreated, they sent ten louis d'or to Mons. de Parat, who immediately desired a barrack to be constructed for himself and surgeon. This cost him four crowns: the remainder he offered to Mons. Arnaud, who refused it. He also demanded his liberty in consideration of a ransom. He received for answer, that the Vaudois did not want money, but would willingly exchange him against prisoners at Turin; to which he replied, that Mons. de Reubenac Feuquieres, who was ambassador there, was his intimate friend. For some days the French neglected to send him necessaries, either with a view to deceive the Vaudois into an idea that he was of no importance, or because they had something else to think about.

not, I am sure, wish for any more specimens. They all bear the approving mark of the inquisitor at Turin.—Ed.

CHAPTER VIII.

Containing an account of the last attack on the Balsi.

The enemy was soon observed to be employing all his means for taking exemplary vengeance for the affront received in the late attack. Mons. de Catinat having, to his shame, essayed the valour of the Vaudois, did not think fit to expose, a second time, his person, and hopes of a marechal's staff, in a farther conflict, but resigned it to the direction of Mons. de Feuquieres.

A week only had elapsed from their first repulse, when the French returned to the charge, and again besieged the Balsi.

On Easter eve, the 10th of May, the advanced guard of the Vaudois at Cucullion sent information that the enemy was approaching. All the out-posts were immediately called in, and preparations for communicating on the morrow were suspended. That same evening one body of the enemy encamped at Passet; another descended by the Col du Pis; and a third by the Col du Clapier. Five different encampments

were formed, the more effectually to surround the Vaudois. As soon as night had set in, they advanced on the river and the ruined village, and constructed a redoubt; whence, as well as from two other positions, they kept up a heavy fire, by which two Vaudois were wounded.

In addition to the operations of a large body of pioneers, every soldier who was not on guard, nor of the trenching parties, was obliged to bring a faggot with him at the end of the day. These were used to support the parapets and raise breast-works upon them. In this manner the Balsi was speedily surrounded. The moment a foot of ground was gained it was immediately covered, and a Vaudois could not even show his hat without a hundred shots being fired at it. The enemy was also provided with sacks of wool, which made a rampart impenetrable to a musket-ball *.

After some days perseverance in these measures, the approaches were so advanced, that a speaking trumpet could be heard from them by the Vaudois. The white banner was even planted at the foot of the spot called the Castle. A sum-

* Mons. de Feuquieres, in his memoirs, corroborates this statement.

mons to surrender was issued, accompanied by a remark, that it was matter of astonishment that such a handful of persons should dare to prosecute a war with so mighty a prince as the King of France. An offer was also made of passports and 500 louis a head, in case of submission, as it was allowed that, though eventually they must be subdued, the Vaudois would cause the destruction of many brave men.

The enemy took this opportunity of sending provisions and medicine to Mons. de Parat, and a new but ineffectual proposal was made with respect to his liberation.

Let it not be supposed that, though the Vaudois suffered the inevitable approach of their foe within the meet distance, whence he might spring on them as his prey, that they were paralized by the approximation of the crisis. Though they could not prevent the main body from creeping up, and inserting itself into, the mountain nest in which they had been so long and securely sheltered, they lost no opportunity of attacking detached parties. Scarcely a night passed without their making a sortie.

On one of these occasions they drove a party with considerable slaughter from a rock which had been fortified on the right of the castle.

Frequent sallies were made in the quarter of Prajelas. Much bread was brought off, and some villages burnt, among which was that of Bourset. A party of sixty men found their way to the valley of Perouse, to convoy a reinforcement which was understood to be waiting there: these did not return till after the Balsi was lost. It being observed that provisions were daily carried to the dragoons who occupied the left, a party attacked the bearers between the great camp and that of the dragoons, killed every one his man, and carried off their burthens.

The white flag, however, was every day displayed, and a daily summons to surrender made with a speaking trumpet. In these summons mention was never made of the duke, but only of the King of France or madame royale.

Mons. de Feuquieres finding the continual fire of musketry had no other effect than to waste powder and ball, completed the batteries which had been commenced on the Guignevert. He then planted afresh a white flag, which was immediately replaced by a red one; thus intimating that when the batteries had once opened, no quarter was to be expected; and when he found that even these extremities did not shake

the constancy of the Vaudois, he ordered every thing to be ready for a general assault.

Before daybreak, on the 13th of May, a body of the enemy had taken up a position on the higher part of the torrent, under cover of the rocks, but were exposed to a continual skirmish, which did not cease till night, when the position was given up. Another party, however, succeeded in constructing parapets on a point which commanded the highest outpost of the Vaudois; whence they threw hand-grenades, which only wounded one soldier. In the mean time, the cannon played briskly on a sort of ravelin which, being composed of nothing but dry wall*, was quickly knocked to pieces.

The 14th of May was the day appointed for the grand attack; and although Messieurs de Catinat and de l'Ombraille had boasted that the Vaudois should be subdued without the expense of a single pound of powder, yet the battery never ceased to play from daybreak till noon; when the walls of the Vaudois, made only to resist musketry, were in a state of utter destruction. As soon as the enemy perceived the

* Meaning stones heaped on one another without cement.

effect of their cannon, they determined on making the assault in three separate parties. The efforts of the Vaudois to repel them were in vain. An overwhelming force continued to advance, in spite of a heavy fire and continued showers of stones. The Vaudois were compelled to desert the Castle, and retreat to an intrenchment called the Cheval la Bruxe; in doing which they were exposed to the fire of a redoubt which had been raised abvoe the torrent, the effect of which was fortunately neutralised by a fog. They were obliged to inform Mons. de Parat, that if they were again forced, his end was inevitable. He replied, "I forgive you my death;" and, being shortly afterwards abandoned by his guard, he was shot in the head by one of the rear of the fugitives. Some sick and wounded soldiers, and one who rashly returned to take possession of Mons. de Parat's effects, were made prisoners. The means of escape now alone occupied the thoughts of the Vaudois; but, even here, the difficulties appeared insuperable. They were surrounded on every side by the enemy, who stationed guards over all the passes, and kept up so large fires as to diminish the darkness of night; the duration

of which was, in any event, insufficient for the purpose.

At this moment, when death was staring them in the face, the hand of God was once more apparent in their assistance, by enveloping them in the darkness of a mist, which enabled them, with a native of Balsi for their guide, to attempt their escape undiscovered.

Having accurately examined by the light of the fires the position of each guard, Captain Poulat, the guide alluded to, offered to conduct them down a ravine full of frightful precipices. Sliding on their backs, and holding on by the bushes, they followed their conductor, who first felt with his hands and feet for spots which could be rested on with safety. They all followed his example, without shoes, alike for sake of silence and security of footing.

In this manner they passed close to one of the enemy's picquets, which was at that moment going the rounds. At the same instant a soldier, who had a kettle with him, was obliged to use both hands to save himself from falling. The kettle tumbled over the rocks, and alarmed a French sentry, who immediately challenged with a "qui vive." But the kettle, by good fortune,

was not of that poetical family which are reported to have spoken and delivered oracles in the forest of Dodona*. It gave no answer therefore, and the sentry continued his rounds without repeating his "qui vive." The Vaudois proceeded silently on their flight, and two hours after daybreak were discovered, as they were ascending the Guignevert by steps which they cut in the snow, by a party of the enemy stationed on the Balsi.

As the capture of the besieged, not of the Balsi, was the sole end which Mons. de Feuquieres had in view; and as he hoped by this means to contrast his own success to the recent failure of Mons. de Catinat, his disappointment may be conceived when, on entering the last intrenchment, he found nothing but poor and empty barracks, and the naked points of rocks; which, from their number and shape, have given

* Where there was an oracle of Jupiter supposed to be the most ancient in Greece, and founded by Egyptian women. Doves and trees, as well as kettles, were reported to be channels of the deity's forewarnings. The kettles, which were brazen, were suspended close to one another, and near enough a statue, in whose hand was a thong, to be struck by the latter in a high wind. The jarring sound thus produced was interpreted into oracles by the priests.

rise to the name of the mountain of four teeth. A letter to him from the governor of Pignerol, written during the siege of the Balsi, was intercepted; which is the more worthy of insertion as, in the latter part, allusion is made to a crisis on which the eventual fate of the Vaudois depended.

"à Pignerol, May 11, 1690.

"You deceive yourself, sir, in supposing that your letters are tiresome. My pleasure in receiving them can only be augmented when I shall know that you are the '*subduer of the barbets*,' who are, in my opinion, extremely insolent. I received to-day certain information that in the last attack they had only two men dangerously wounded, and some others slightly; but they labour under such difficulty of passing into their forts, that when you have blockaded them a little more closely, their communication will be entirely cut off. Four hundred muskets ought to have arrived already at Perouse, and the rest shall be sent early to-morrow.

"If the artillery mules can be procured they shall also be to-morrow at Macel, where you must send for them. The dragoons have received 700

flints, and if there are no more in the town, we will send elsewhere for them.

" The following is the substance of a letter I have just received from Mons. de Catinat.

" We are ready, he writes, to commence hostile operations; but I have this morning forwarded to court a letter from his royal highness, conceived in such terms, that I have thought right to wait for further orders. This letter was brought to me by Mons. le Marquis Graneri, now minister to his royal highness. So you see that this prince, under better advice, is aware of his real interests *. This change may conduce to the exchange of Mons. de Parat.

" The regiments of Perigord and Robek march to-morrow: the artillery and the Swiss remain:

* Victor Amadeus, then duke of Savoy, was infamous for his inconstancy to his allies. At the time alluded to in this history he was meditating the desertion of Louis XIV., to unite himself with the allied powers; a desertion of which he was afterwards guilty on both sides more than once. Smollett mentions, that immediately on the duke's declaration to this effect, Catinat marched into Piemont with 18,000 men. It appears that Catinat was already there; and it is not improbable that this sanguinary pursuit of the Vaudois by the French, resulted from the wily policy of Louis, who had thus a pretext for so large a force in the immediate vicinity of his suspected ally.—Ed.

Vexin and Pavins march for Macel: the dragoons of Grammont and Languedoc for Pancalict; but all this may be altered on the morrow, as I have no doubt but that the courier, despatched by his royal highness a week ago, will bring back the olive branch. The accounts from Paris state that Heidelberg is invested. The capture of this place and the death of Mons. de Lorraine will sadly disconcert them.

"Most entirely yours,

"BROUILLÉ HERVILLE."

The following short account of the escape of the Vaudois appeared at Turin.

"The French have driven the Huguenots from their forts, who fled the night after their intrenchments were destroyed by the cannon. They defiled between two divisions, over places so steep that no guard had been appointed to watch them, it being thought impossible for men to pass over them. They served one another for bridges, and have since appeared in the valley of Luzerne. The lieutenant-colonel was found recently put to death*."

* Arnaud has inserted another letter from the lieutenant-colonel of a French regiment, which is here omitted, as it

The disappointment of the French was embittered by the fact, that the day before the attack they had proclaimed, with the sound of the trumpet, that all who wished to witness the end of the Vaudois should come to Pignerol on the morrow, where the Vaudois would be hung two by two: but, alas! this promised spectacle was changed for the mortifying one of the arrival of many waggons full of their own wounded.

only differs from the preceding accounts in mentioning, that the regiment of Clerambaud alone lost from eighty to one hundred privates, several gentlemen (seigneurs), and three lieutenants, in one attack.—ED.

NINTH AND CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

Let us now return to our fugitives, who had lost in this affair six killed, besides the wounded. One of the former, Jaques Peyran, was, in the first instance, taken alive and then burnt over a slow fire, by order of Mons. de Feuquieres, for the purpose of making him discover the direction in which the Vaudois intended to retreat.

As soon as they were discovered on the Guignevert, a strong detachment was despatched in pursuit of them. They descended, however, to the neighbourhood of Salsa, where they halted to recruit themselves, as they did also at Rodoret. As they left the latter place to ascend the Galmon, the enemy appeared in sight. They passed in review on the summit of that mountain, and sent the sick and wounded to Balma, at the head of the valley of Rodoret, under the care of Mons. de Parat's surgeon; such as were most slightly wounded acting as guards. They

then descended rapidly in the direction of Prali, and gained the wood of Serrelimi, with the intention of concealing themselves till night-fall; a fog however arising, they took advantage of it to continue their march, and mounted to some huts called La Majere, which their fatigue prevented them from reaching till night, though the distance was only a quarter of a league. Here they could find no water; but Heaven, as though in compassion for them, sent an abundant rain, which in this instance was a source of as much relief to them as it had often been of inconvenience.

The following morning, having carefully extinguished their fires, lest they should betray them to the enemy's sentries on the Galmon, they continued their route to Prajet, where they halted to offer up prayers. Some scouts, who had been sent to observe the motions of the enemy, reported his advance in their immediate direction. The mists, which seemed appointed for their assistance, again favoured their flight.

During the intervals of clear weather the Vaudois couched upon the ground, till intervening heights concealed them from those of the Serre du Galmon.

They now entered a country replete with difficulties, and having passed by the White Rock, descended, at midnight, to Fayet, overwhelmed with fatigue; having traversed passes, where it was frequently necessary to support themselves by the branches of trees hanging over the precipices which opposed their progress.

On the morning of the 17th, as soon as they reached Riouclaret, they discovered that the enemy was on their track. They then bent in the direction of Angrogna, with a view of obtaining provisions. As they passed near Pramol they received information of a large quantity of cattle. They separated into three detachments; and while one secured the cattle which had descended to the village of Rua, the other two attacked a party of the enemy which was intrenched in the cemetery of the church. The intrenchments were immediately carried; and Mons. de Vignaux, who commanded, was made prisoner, with three lieutenants, who were wounded. Mons. de Vignaux, when he surrendered his sword to Mons. Arnaud, showed him an order, by which he was expressly forbidden to abandon that post, and informed him, at the same time, that his royal highness was

called on to determine, before the following Tuesday, whether he would embrace the side of France or of the allies.

In addition to the prisoners mentioned, the enemy lost fifty-seven dead on the field in this action, and had the mortification to see the village burnt. The Vaudois lost three killed and three wounded, besides a woman, who met her fate in attempting to light some straw, in order to smoke the enemy out of the church.

After this affair the Vaudois descended to the village of Humiau, about half a league off.

On the next day, Sunday, while foraging on the mountain of Angrogna, they were joyfully surprised by the sight of the Sieurs Parander and Bertin, as envoys of Mons. le Baron de Palavicin, to announce to them the offer of peace from his royal highness. This offer was attended with an immediate supply of provisions. On descending to the Pra del Tor, they were met by two other messengers from Mons. le Chevalier de Vercellis, who expressed a wish on his part to communicate with some of their officers. An answer was immediately returned, that if he would come to the place where they then were, some of their people should meet him.

This opportunity was taken to request Mons. de Palavicin to send a surgeon, to dress the wounds of the three lieutenants who had been made prisoners at Pramol.

In the joyful expectation of perfect peace with their sovereign, the Vaudois encamped, on the 19th of May, on the alp of la Buffe; they were disappointed, however, by Mons. le Chevalier de Vercellis, who did not keep his appointment.

The booty, consisting of cows, sheep, and goats, was divided, and a part sold, the produce being divided among the soldiers.

The surgeon, whose attendance Mons. de Vignaux had required, now arrived, and after having dressed the wounded wished to return; but he was given to understand that he must remain, according to an agreement with the other officers, till the latter were exchanged against those Vaudois whose liberty had been demanded as the price of Mons. de Parat's ransom.

They now remained till the 24th without bread; during which time a Vaudois shot a partridge with a single ball, which, being dressed on a stone, was presented to the four captured officers.

Just as they were beginning to be in despair

PROVINCIA DI TORINO

Drawn by Hugh Dyke Acland.

Engraved by Edwd Finden

LA TOUR.

Published June 1837, by John Murray, London.

for want of bread, the Sieurs Parander and Bertin reappeared, and required forty or fifty men to attend them to the farm of Mons. Gautier, brother-in-law to Mons. Arnaud, where this necessary article would be given to them.

Mons. Arnaud immediately ordered a detachment, under the command of two captains, on this acceptable service. But as the Vaudois were not yet relieved from the suspicions which had, by a long course of treachery, been made inherent in them, orders were given that five men only should enter in the first place, and make a thorough search, while the remainder acted as a guard without; that ten, and then a larger number, should follow, till all the bread was removed.

The French, who were now the only enemies of the Vaudois, sent a detachment to take up a position below the Pra del Tor, and another to occupy the Vendelin, a mountain above the town of La Tour. The Vaudois also formed into two detachments to observe those of the enemy. In a skirmish in the neighbourhood of La Tour, the French suffered a partial loss, but on the Vendelin the affair assumed a much more serious

tone. The French having occupied one height, the Vaudois took possession of another, and leaving a dozen musketeers to amuse the enemy, by occasional discharges, took advantage of a fog to surprise him in the rear; which they did so effectually, as to put the whole detachment to the sword, excepting twelve, who, rolling themselves over the snow into the valley, escaped, mutilated and disarmed, and carried the news of the defeat to Pignerol. The two detachments of the Vaudois now united and ascended higher among the mountains, intending to halt at the Jasses: but finding themselves observed by another body of the French, and impeded by the wounded, especially the prisoners, they halted at Balmadaut.

On the following day, as they were eating violet soup and wild sorrel, they perceived the enemy approaching: they were engaged the whole of this day in different places, for the French, enraged at having missed them at the Balsi, had detached forces on every side, in order eventually to exterminate them.

Mons. de Clerembaut, colonel of the regiment of that name, ignorant of the truce between the duke and the Vaudois, marched with a party

into La Tour, where he was not a little surprised at finding himself taken prisoner, and, as such, conducted to his royal highness.

Four or five days now elapsed without any event, at the end of which the Vaudois had the consolation to receive a letter written by the Baron de Palavicin to the governor of Mirabouc, commanding him to permit the Vaudois to pass and repass at their pleasure. They were also rejoiced by the return of some parties whom they had given up for lost, especially one of sixty men, which, as has been mentioned, had left the Balsi during the siege, to meet a promised reinforcement in the valley of Perouse.

This detachment, after concealing itself during several days, and marching only by night, was on the point of returning to the Balsi, when it received the news of its fall. It retreated among the woods, and compelled the peasants to furnish subsistence by the threat of burning their villages, a penalty which had been actually inflicted on Bourset. Among those who were now restored to their countrymen was a private, still living, whose adventures deserve to be related.

He was slightly wounded in the thigh, and, being in want of dressings, had leave to accom-

pany three men who were sent into the valley of Perouse to obtain provisions. The Clusone, then full and rapid, was to be forded; this was safely done by the other three; but the wounded man, on approaching the middle of the torrent, found himself unequal to stem it. He returned to the bank he had left, and was totally destitute. For seventeen days he concealed himself, and dragged himself from bush to bush, and from rock to rock, during as many nights.

In the mean time he healed his wound simply by washing it, a cure partly occasioned by his living on violets and other raw herbs.

In this famished state he roused two wolves' cubs; hunger stimulated him to the chase, and he had the good fortune to strike one of them down with a stick. He immediately devoured part of it raw, and would have eaten the rest had he not been thus sufficiently refreshed to gain Bobi, where he brought the cub's head with him. Thus the expression of the Sieur Banqui, sindic of Luzerne, on occasion of the defeat of the soldiers at Vachere, during the massacre of 1655, was literally verified. It is thus related by Leger. On seeing the quantity of dead and wounded that were brought in, the sindic observed, "Altre

volte li lupi mangiavano li barbetti, ma il tempo è venuto che li barbetti mangiano i lupi:" "formerly the wolves eat the dogs, but the time is come when the dogs eat the wolves."

From the statements of some of the wanderers it appeared, that the force brought against the Balsi in the last attack amounted to 12,000 regulars and 1,400 peasants.

On the 3d of June, a detachment of the enemy, 600 strong, passed over the Col du Julien and encamped at Serre le Cruel, with the intention of entering Bobi. The Savoyard troops effectually opposed this design, but supplied them with guides for their retreat. On the 4th, the French having received intelligence of a body of Vaudois at Palmud, made a forced march during the whole night, in hopes of surprising it. They were discovered in the twilight, and a warm reception was prepared for them. The ensuing engagement lasted the whole day, and cost the Vaudois two men killed and two wounded: the loss on the side of the enemy was reported to be considerable.

The news of a declaration of war against France was at last confirmed, to the great satisfaction of the Vaudois. The French forces,

which were still in pursuit of them, not being apprised of this circumstance, continued to carry their sick and wounded to La Tour, where they were made prisoners and then sent to Saluces.

The Savoyard militia, in the occupation of Bobi and Villar, were ordered to deliver up those places, with the provisions in them, to Mons. Arnaud and his force: an order which in one respect was but imperfectly executed; for the Savoyards left nothing which they could carry away, and even poured out the wine in the streets. Among the early tokens of restoration to their prince's favour, one of the most gratifying to the Vaudois was the return of Messrs. Bastie, Montons, Malanot, and Martinet, who had been released from the prisons at Turin in exchange for Mons. de Vignaux. They were now plentifully supplied with bread, and had an order for flour on the royal stores at La Tour. The storekeeper, however, incapable of resigning his enmity to them, refused compliance with it, though the magazines were abundantly stocked.

The prospects of the Vaudois brightened daily; more of their captured comrades returned with the joyful intelligence, that his royal highness had given his assurance, not only of liberty of

conscience, but of permission to their pastors to preach even at Turin.

An opportunity of signalising their loyalty to their reconciled sovereign was soon offered to the Vaudois. The Baron of Palavicin, commander of his royal highness's troops occupying the Alpine frontier, required their co-operation in a descent on the valley of Quayras. Having invoked the blessing of God, they mounted, 300 strong, to the Col de la Croix, and having ascertained the position of the enemy, and the movements of the baron, rapidly descended to Abries.

The enemy, driven from the town, retired into the church, whence they for some time kept up a fire which killed one captain and five soldiers, and wounded others. The Vaudois, however, succeeded in burning the place and in securing a considerable booty in various kinds of cattle. At night they fell back on Monta and other villages high on the mountains, and, on the following day, having returned to the valleys, divided the spoil, and sent several of the captured mules to his royal highness.

After this exploit Mons. Arnaud was invited, and accompanied by the Chevalier de Vercellis,

to a conference with the Baron de Palavicin on the subject of the secure occupation of the valleys. It was agreed that this object would be best attained by reinforcing the Vaudois with 2000 men; in which case it would be unnecessary to molest the peasantry, if on their part they remained neutral *. Upon this, all those in the neighbourhood of La Tour who had formerly changed their religion, reunited themselves with the Vaudois.

Thus reinforced, they went to the assistance of the Mondovian troops who had sat down before St. Michel. After this they stormed and carried the town of La Tour, under the cannon of the fort; but did not long retain possession of it, being expelled, though without loss, by a superior French force. The town was burnt by the latter; the occupation of it by the Vaudois being considered dangerous to the fort itself. On his rupture with France his royal highness had given orders for the destruction of this fort, but the mines failed. The engineer employed was suspected of treachery, and the suspicion

* The peasantry here mentioned were the persons to whom the Duke of Savoy had given the possessions of the Vaudois.

was confirmed by the fact that, immediately afterwards, the French troops fell back in the direction of La Tour and took possession of it. About this time a circumstance occurred which led to the declaration of their rights from the lips of their sovereign. A party having captured a French courier with despatches, the Baron de Palavicin directed that they should be presented to his royal highness by Mons. Arnaud, Mons. Odin, and Captain Friquet. His royal highness, after receiving them most graciously, thus addressed them: "You have only one God and one prince; serve them faithfully. Hitherto we have been foes; henceforward we must be friends. To strangers * are your misfortunes to be attributed; but if, as is your duty, you expose your lives for me, I also will expose mine for you; and as long as I have a morsel of bread, you shall have your share."

The energy of these expressions was increased by his royal highness's irritation against France. With what justice the fate of the Vaudois was thus subjected to the feuds or friendships of these princes, I shall not discuss. I will simply

* Louis XIV.

remark, that God not only disunited these two powers, but permitted them to turn against each other those arms which had been united to destroy the Vaudois, at the very moment when, after many and severe toils and disappointments, they were at the point of overwhelming the Vaudois nation and exterminating it for ever*.

The age in which we live is so perverse, and so prevalent is the spirit of incredulity and pride, that many persons will, no doubt, discredit this history.

But surely the unadorned and simple style of narration is evidence against any intention to trifle with or impose on the reader. Nor are the facts narrated of so old a date, but that thousands still live who heard of them as they took place. Living witnesses of them are yet to be found among French and Piémontese, Savoyards and Swiss.

Reader, your attention has been directed to events scarcely to be imagined. But, with the

* Henri Arnaud introduces a long account of an unsuccessful attempt of another body of Vaudois and refugees to reinforce their brethren in the valleys. As it is not immediately connected with this history, I omit it here, but shall briefly relate it in the sequel of their history.

Vaudois, you will impute them only to the providence of God, who, to render his presence more visible, chose for his chief instrument in this wonderful struggle a man ignorant of arms or of war, excepting with Satan.

Is it not wonderful that such a person, after escaping the pursuit of those who sought to deliver him to the flames at Constance, should have been able to effect a passage through Savoy, taking as his prisoners the nobles and gentry of the land to be witnesses of the valour and discipline of the Vaudois? Was the victory of Salabertrann less than miraculous, where 800 men, most of whom had never handled a musket, routed 2500 regular troops, killing 600, with a loss, on their own side, of only fifteen?

To what other than a divine cause can be attributed the fear which, on the approach of the Vaudois, caused the disgraceful flight of the usurpers of their possessions, and of the troops who should have protected them?

Who but God, and God only, could have inspired a destitute handful of men with the design of re-entering their country, sword in hand, in opposition to their own prince, and to the King of France, then the terror of all Europe?

And who but he could have conducted and protected them in this enterprise, and finally crowned it with success, in spite of all the vast efforts of these powers to disconcert it; in spite also of the vows and prayers of the pope and his adherents for the glory of the papal standard, and the destruction of this little band of the elect?

And was it not rather Divine Providence, than the ordinary course of nature, that so preserved the grain upon the earth, that the Vaudois gathered the harvest in the depth of winter, instead of the height of summer*? Thus did their Canaan, as though rejoiced to see them, present to them a supernatural gift. Is it conceivable that, without divine aid, 367 Vaudois, confined in the Balsi for six months, existing on vegetables, water, and a scanty allowance of bread, and lodging, like corpses, in the earth, should repel and drive into disgraceful flight 10,000 French and 12,000 Piémontese? Or that, after their brilliant defence, they should escape from a second attack, when the French,

* The Vaudois were stopped by deep snow from reaping all the harvest in the autumn of their return. The corn, thus preserved by the snow, supplied them after their stores had been burnt by the enemy.

enraged at the desperate opposition of a handful of men, brought executioners, and mules laden with ropes, to offer up the Vaudois on gibbets as a sacrifice of thanksgiving?

Surely it must be granted, that in all their troubles and dangers the Omnipotent delivered them, gave them victory in all their battles, supported them when they were faint-hearted, supplied them with necessaries when it appeared that they must be destitute, and finally inspired their prince with the will to re-instate them in their heritage, and suffer them to restore true devotion in their churches. Events so surprising clearly prove that the French and Piémontese arms were aided only by the deceitful benedictions of Rome—of her who would be God upon earth—while those of the Vaudois were blessed by the great God who is King of kings, and delegates his sceptre to no earthly hands.

Thanks, then, be to the Eternal, who, in selecting the Vaudois as the instruments of such wonders, appears to have sanctioned their religion as that in which he would be served, honoured, and obeyed by all the redeemed. Amen.

PROVINCIA DI TORINO

Drawn by Hugh Dyke Acland. Engraved by Edwd Finden.

THE ROCK OF CASTEL LUZZO.

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SEQUEL

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE VAUDOIS.

Henri Arnaud has mentioned in the early part of his history, that many Vaudois were prevented from co-operating in the glorious enterprise related by him, by arriving too late at the rendezvous in the forest of Nions, and that others, deficient in courage, pleaded want of arms as an excuse for desertion. Both parties, on receiving accounts from the valleys, were deeply mortified at not sharing in the glory and success of their countrymen, and their eagerness to assist in the conflict was restrained only by the want of a leader. This deficiency was soon supplied by Mons. Bourgeois, a native of Berne. To him had been consigned in the first instance, and at his own request, the post held by Henri

Arnaud; but his timidity had induced him to resign it. Anxious to recover his character for courage, he now announced himself as commander of the Vaudois remaining in Switzerland, and prevailed on many others, French and Swiss, to unite with them. A force 1,000 strong was thus collected, in which the Vaudois bore but a small proportion. The rest were adventurers, with nothing to lose but their lives, and willing to hazard these for the sake of settled possessions.

Their departure from Switzerland was favoured by a popular disgust against the Duke of Savoy, occasioned by a presumed contravention on his part of a treaty which he had lately ratified with the canton of Berne. Holland supplied them with money.

The blustering spirit always attendant on assumed courage led Mons. Bourgeois to blazon forth his intended feats, forgetful of the lessons of secresy conveyed by former failures. A positive order not to embark on the lake of Geneva, issued by the government of Berne, was disobeyed, a disobedience ultimately expiated by the death of the chief.

On landing in Savoy the force was divided into nineteen companies, of which two only were

composed of Vaudois, three of Swiss, and the remainder of French refugees.

His royal highness's officers, warned by the tumultuous preparations of their foe, had pre-occupied all the strong places.

Dissensions soon arose between the French and Swiss; and at the end of a week from the time of disembarkation, general confusion was followed by abandonment of the enterprise. Permission to recross the lake, and boats, were with difficulty obtained from the council of Geneva, or the whole body would have fallen victims to the revenge of the Duke of Savoy. This prince's anger against the Bernois, on account of the assistance lent by the populace to this attack on his territory, was so great, that, in order to appease it, their governors caused Mons. Bourgeois to be tried on a charge of rebellion against their state; and being found guilty, he was beheaded on the gates of Nion.

Henri Arnaud, though he expresses compassion for the fate of this man, deprecates the whole affair, as emanating from irritated vanity on the part of the chief, and lust for plunder on the part of his followers, instead of the patriotic

and religious feeling which had actuated the body he had himself so successfully commanded.

Some account of this transaction was necessary, as an erroneous opinion partially exists that it was an act of the Vaudois nation.

We will now return to our friends, restored to their inheritance and the favour of their prince.

Their conduct in the war between the confederates and Louis XIV. commanded the applause of all who witnessed it, and is honourably mentioned in the Memoirs of Prince Eugene. Their sovereign formed them into a distinct regiment under officers of their own nation, and invited their brethren of the reformed church to join it. In a work of high authority, published soon after these events*, they are represented as having mainly contributed to several important victories in Piémont, and as having compelled the French to evacuate the valleys.

* Novum Thesaurum Pedemontii. The author of this work distinctly states that Louis XIV., sensible of the devotion of the Vaudois to their sovereign, instigated the persecution which led to the Glorieuse Rentrée, lest they should be on his rear when prosecuting his designs on Piemont, from Pignerol, his point d'appui.

Smollett relates, that their successes in the valley of Prajelas were the principal incidents of the campaign in that country of 1694. William III. gave a regiment to Henri Arnaud, and a company to his brother. In 1706, a striking proof of confidence in their loyalty and forgiving nature was afforded by Victor Amadeus, their late relentless persecutor, in selecting them for a refuge, when a fugitive from his besieged capital *, and pursued by forty-five squadrons of cavalry under the Count d'Aubeterre. The family of Durand Canton, in the commune of Rora, preserves to this day a silver goblet, left by his royal highness as a token of their forefathers' loyalty; and throughout his protracted conflicts, the duke continued his approbation of their conduct and his protestations of interest in their welfare.

About 1726, two years before his abdication,

* Turin was invested in May, by the Duke of Orleans, under the direction of Marechal de Marsin, and with the assistance of the Duke de la Feuillade.

In spite of a loss of 14,000 men, the besiegers were on the point of succeeding, when Prince Eugene, on the 7th of September, attacked them in their intrenchments, and totally defeated them. The Superga owes its origin to this victory.

he directed the governor of Pignerol to receive an oath of allegiance from this well-tried portion of his subjects, and to promise them, on his part, security in their valleys. But he sent also an order diminishing the extent of their country, and banishing those not born within the new limits—no inconsiderable number, as many foreign protestants had, by his royal highness's invitation, united themselves with the Vaudois, after their recovery of the valleys. The exiles proceeded through Savoy to Switzerland, with an order on the commissariat for bread, which was wrested from them on Mont Cenis, by couriers sent by his royal highness for that purpose. The Vallenses of Wirtemberg are the descendants of these victims of treacherous ingratitude.

From this time to the usurpation of Piémont by France, the only distinguishable features in Vaudois history are resignation to an oppressive government, and adherence to their faith and to the practice inculcated by it.

With Napoleon's empire there passed a gleam of prosperity over the valleys. The Vaudois were then, for the first time, put in possession of that birthright of every member of society—

a community of civil rights. The maintenance of Romish clergy in communes, destitute, or nearly so, of Romanists, was abolished by an imperial edict, and the funds supplying it were appropriated to the use of the pastors, the real labourers in the vineyard.

In 1814, the King of Sardinia recovered his legitimate authority, and the Vaudois lost their natural rights. No part of his subjects received their restored king with greater joy than the inhabitants of the valleys. The anticipation of civil restrictions had no effect on their affectionate loyalty. They addressed his majesty respectfully, and implored his protection. Deputations were also sent to different ministers, requesting their intercession. Lord William Bentinck interfered in their behalf strenuously, but ineffectually. A deputy sent to the Duke of Wellington was treated by that nobleman with silent indifference. One to the Emperor Alexander was answered with Christian sympathy, and a present of 12,000 francs, to be applied towards an hospital and the rebuilding a decayed church. That munificent personage conceived that neither difference in church governments, nor even in some more essential

points, was a sufficient bar to the exercise of charity. The Count de Truchsass, at all times the indefatigable friend of the unfortunate, exerted himself in their favour with his usual skill and humanity. But Emanuel listened only to his confessors; and in less than four months after regal power was restored to him, he employed it in the renewal of the oppressive edicts of his ancestors against the inoffensive Vaudois, and this without even that most suspicious plea, political security.

It is matter of regret, if not of censure, that the protestant powers, who insisted on this restoration for the benefit of the king, should have insisted on nothing for the benefit of his people. When great powers take on themselves to dispose of nations, they make themselves trustees for the interests of those disposed of. Shamefully, indeed, in this instance was this trust discharged.

The Vaudois are again restricted to their ancient limits; they are excluded from office, military or civil; compelled to serve as soldiers, they cannot rise above the rank of serjeant; as attorneys and apothecaries only may they practise in law and physic, and this practise must be

confined to their own valleys; the holidays of the Romish calendar must be observed by them, a very severe hardship during harvest time in the precarious climate of mountains; their pastors are deprived of their additional salaries *; they may build neither churches nor presbyteries without special permission, most difficult of attainment †; they are deprived not only of the freedom of the press but of the right of printing, the possession of a printing-press being interdicted to them, while a duty, amounting to a prohibition, is laid on bibles and books of instruction; correspondence with foreign clergy is forbidden; the very ties of nature are dissolved, for children may be taken from their parents to be converted from the faith of their fathers, and marriages between a Vaudois and a Romanist be annulled at the will of the latter. An instance of the first of these cruelties came

* They receive 500 francs per annum from the Sardinian government; but a sum exceeding this income is levied by an extraordinary tax on the Vaudois. The surplus is retained by the treasury.

† The Prussian minister's influence was insufficient, during three years, to obtain permission for rebuilding the church at Pomaret, though funds were ready for the purpose.

within my own knowledge, while resident in the valleys; and in proof of the latter, it may be stated that, in 1815, the vice-judge of Latour proclaimed, on authority of edicts issued in 1626 and 1730, the invalidity of such marriages as had occurred during the interregnum between persons of the different faiths. He was, indeed, reproved for this step by his superiors, but the proclamation has not been contradicted, nor have the injurious edicts been repealed.

Oppression such as this might justify disaffection; yet not one Vaudois was implicated in the revolutionary attempt to overthrow that system whence all their evils emanate.

This fact, marking so strongly their fidelity to their princes, is the more important, on account of a false report that, on the invasion of Piémont by the army of the directory, the Vaudois joined the French.

The author of an able and interesting work * has countenanced this mistake, deceived, pro-

* History of the Campaigns in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, 1799, in Germany, Italy, Switzerland, &c.; a work replete with pleasure to such as feel interest in the details of those momentous events.

bably, by the circumstance of their having been subjects of praise by Zimmerman * and Suchet. But they were equally commended by the opposite party. The princes, Bagration and Kevenhuller, General Niemsell, and Count Nieuper †, have borne testimony to their good conduct. Their prince himself expressed to them, under his own hand, his sense of their zeal in pressing into his armies, and his value for their services ‡.

The praise of Suchet was certainly the most striking; for he made the conduct of the Vaudois, to part of his troops, the subject of the order of the day, 3 *Frimaire, an.* 8, 24th December, 1799. And well he might.

The valleys, throughout this fluctuating campaign, had been occupied alternately by the French and the allies. The wounded of either were treated by the Vaudois with the tenderest care. At last, while upwards of 300 French were lying at Bobi and the neighbouring ham-

* This general was made prisoner at La Tour by a force under General Lusignan.

† Vide, Notice sur l'etat actuel des eglises Vaudoises, &c. par Coquerell, un des collaborateurs de la Revue Encyclopedique. Paris, 1822.

‡ Gilly.

lets, they were informed by their benefactors that their country, at all times poor, was absolutely destitute, and that subsistence in it for more than its natives was no longer possible—melancholy tidings for wounded men, whose only escape from famine was by a road over Alps impracticable, by the usual means of transport, to people in their condition.

From this dilemma they were relieved by the Vaudois, who, having made litters, placed them with the wounded on their own shoulders, and thus carried them to Briançon. Strangers to the disinterested feeling necessary to such an action, the Piémontese imputed its performance to a disloyal attachment to the enemy.

Another instance of this prejudice, with less foundation, but more wicked and dangerous, occurred in an earlier stage of this war.

A French detachment entered the valley of Lucerne by the Col de la Croix. Their descent lay under the fort of Mirabouc, impregnable, if ever fort was so, by situation. At the mouth of a narrow and strait gorge, divided by the torrent and the path, rises an insulated rock about 300 feet high, and in effect perpendicular. On this the fort is erected, and is approached by a

winding staircase. The commanding heights are inaccessible. The officer in command, Mesmer, surrendered this important post, on a pretence that it was untenable. One Vaudois officer only was in the garrison; and his protest against the surrender obtained him promotion, and was a principal feature in the evidence before the court martial which tried and condemned the traitor. Instigated by a malicious report, that the Vaudois were implicated in this affair, though the officer alluded to was the only Vaudois in the fort, some fanatics resolved on the destruction of the villages of La Tour and St. Jean, and the massacre of their defenceless inhabitants, the flower of the population being employed in defending the frontier. The night of the 15th of May, 1794, was fixed on for the execution of this plot. On the evening of the 14th, it was observed that the convent of Recollets and the neighbouring houses were filled with strangers.

On the 15th, report of the design reached Mons. Brianza, the Roman catholic curé of Lucerne. With zeal, as great as could have been shown by a Vaudois pastor, he sounded the alarm among the Vaudois villages. Captain

Odetti, also a Romanist, was no sooner invited to the conspiracy, than he rushed to La Tour, and pledged the last drop of his blood in the defence of the honour of his abused religion and of the relations of his absent brothers in arms. Sixteen expresses, supplicating protection, were sent in vain to General Godin, commander-in-chief of that district. This officer was incredulous of such atrocity. The moment had arrived, but the assassins had been delayed by a tremendous storm. In the mean time, General Godin, roused at last by the distracted entreaties of fresh couriers, had advanced in person at the head of several columns. The conspirators, finding themselves detected, fled under favour of the darkness. A list of them, however, 800 in number, was discovered and forwarded to the Duke of Aosta, but no legal measures followed.

It requires no great degree of scepticism to refuse credit to the occurrence of such an affair at the end of the eighteenth century. Mr. Gilly, Mr. Lowther, and Mons. Coquerell, have, however, borne testimony to it; and I regret to say that, on personal inquiry on the spot, I found it confirmed in every particular.

Such a circumstance must be considered as

a spot defacing, indeed, the times and people among whom it happened, but contrary to their general spirit. "In these days (as has been well observed by a French writer) fanaticism may re-appear, but can never be re-established."

The interest excited by the Vaudois in all nations of the reformed religion is one of the peculiar features in their history. This interest has been displayed by frequent pecuniary assistance, and continued diplomatic intercession with their government. In this country alone, voluntary subscriptions, amounting to more than 40,000*l.*, have, at three different periods, been made for them. The largest, during the protectorate, has been mentioned. A residue of it was vested in private loans (the national debt was not then funded), and intrusted to commissioners, and the interest appropriated as a salary for the pastors, school-masters, &c. During the reign of Charles II. this fund was misapplied. Mary, consort of William III., replaced it by an annual pension of 425*l.*—soon after withheld. It was, however, at the instance of Archbishop Sharpe, renewed and increased to 500*l.* by Queen Anne, and was regularly issued from our exchequer until 1807, under the name of the royal

bounty. But difficulties of transmission and other causes prevented its actual receipt by the Vaudois, for some years previous to that period. A sum, amounting to 1,500*l.*, paid, under these circumstances, into the office of general accounts, has been replaced by order of our government; and the objects of the original grant, or their representatives, must, by this time, have received it. The claim of the pastors for the annual pension itself appears to have been recognised by a separate payment, and will not, it is trusted, be again disputed.

In 1760, about 8000*l.* were again collected by brief. The collection now in progress has already amounted to more than 6000*l.*, vested in our funds. The interest is applied half-yearly, to specific purposes; chiefly to the maintenance of a hospital in the valley of La Tour, and a dispensary in that of St. Martin—to the establishment of new schools, and to the assistance of young persons intended for the ministry. To the same purposes is appropriated the yearly interest (150*l.*) of a subscription still going on in Prussia. Holland has contributed 80,000 francs,—Switzerland a large sum, besides five exhibitions for students in divinity,—France and Piémont

have lent their aid,—and even the Atlantic has not bounded exertion in behalf of this people, for a bishop of the Western Hemisphere has advocated their cause among his American brethren, as well as under the walls of the Vatican *. Sympathy so extensive and practical surely implies proportionate merit in its cause. On this subject, the merits of the Vaudois, and their late claims for assistance, I have dwelt on a former occasion †. That statement has been amply supported by the testimony of others, as may be seen by reference to Mr. Gilly's postscript to his fourth edition. One piece of evidence I will add on account of its unexceptionable impartiality. A friend of mine, previously unacquainted with the history of the Vaudois, was led to their mountains in his favourite pursuit of the chamois, an animal abounding in that country. He was in the habit of exposing himself, with his guides, to fatigue and hardships which few men could bear, and fewer still would brave ‡. Under these

* Dr. Hobart, bishop of New York, preached a sermon in their behalf, at Rome.

† Sketch of the History and present Condition of the Vaudois.

‡ Φιλοθηροτατος, και προς τα θηρια φιλοκινδυνωτατος. *Xenophon.*

circumstances and the excitement peculiar to hunters, especially in the mountains, reserve or restraint between him and the inhabitants was impossible. The constant and anxious inquiry made of me about him showed that he was generally and well acquainted with them. On my return, I asked him, before he knew that I had any peculiar interest in the case, what impression the inhabitants had made on him. He answered, that "they were a more enlightened, affectionate, and moral peasantry, than he could have conceived to exist." I have not his permission to name him; but he has travelled much, and a more candid man, or one less liable to romantic estimation of human character, does not exist.

The form of ecclesiastical government among the Vaudois remains as I have described it in the compendium of their former history. The difficulty with respect to ordination by the moderator, namely, the want of sufficient theological instruction, still exists: the want, not of ability to teach, or of anxiety to learn, but of funds to support both teachers and scholars within the valleys. If a professorship and exhibitions for students were added to the existing school at La Tour, this difficulty might be removed. Funds

almost sufficient for such a purpose would be found in the surplus of the English and Dutch collections.

The discipline of the Vaudois church remains unaltered in essential points, though its rigour has partially abated. Nor is this relaxation to be lamented. Excitement and perfect discretion are seldom united; and their former rules of discipline were drawn up by men under the most extravagant of all excitements, deadly persecution for religion's sake.

A confession of faith, signed by the late moderator and the pastors, shows the purity of their existing doctrine, and is therefore a sufficient answer to any charge of sectarianism. It has been published by Mr. Sims among Peyran's papers, and corresponds exactly in substance, in number and order of articles, and very nearly in words, with that already inserted in this volume. For a more minute description of their present condition and its causes—of the extreme labours of their pastors—the efforts of the Romanists for conversion—the constancy opposed by the Vaudois to those efforts—the casualties and hardships of their Alpine district—the insufficiency of the territory to which the existing

laws confine them—and their irresistible claims on foreign assistance, I will refer my readers to my former publication, and more especially to Mr. Gilly's Narrative. And I cannot better conclude this volume than by thanking that eloquent writer for having first directed my attention to this interesting people, and by congratulating him on the almost complete success of his exertions in their behalf.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the last sheet of this volume was in the press, I have seen, for the first time, Mr. Jones's preface to the fifth edition of his "History of the Christian Church."

In this preface Mr. Jones affirms that the history of the Waldenses and Albigenses ends with the persecution of 1686, and that the persons related to have recovered the valleys under Henri Arnaud, in 1689, were "a new race of Waldenses," bearing no resemblance to the nation formerly known by that name. If this be true, the advocates of aid to the existing Vaudois have grossly deceived the public, by urging, in their behalf, their descent from the primitive Vallensian church.

Mr. Jones supports these affirmations by a *partial* application of the type of the witnesses, to the Vallensian and Albigensian churches, and by assuming a difference, in religious tenets, be-

tween the present and ancient Vaudois. "If," he says, "we are to credit a host of writers belonging to the church of England, the two witnesses of the Apocalypse (Rev. xi. 3, 4, &c.) were the two churches, or, to speak more properly, the two classes of churches which passed under the names of the Waldenses and Albigenses. This was the opinion of bishops Lloyd, Newton, Hurd, &c., Messrs. Whiston, Faber, Gauntlett, and others; and even Mr. Gilly himself admits it. Now these two witnesses, after prophesying 1260 years in sackcloth, according to the prophetic testimony, were to be *finally* overcome and killed by the beast that ascended out of the bottomless pit (Rev. xi. 7). This event I consider to have been consummated in the year 1686, and consequently as terminating the history of the Waldenses. Where, then, is the propriety of complaining of me, as Mr. Gilly and others would seem to do, that I have not pursued the subject further?"

The propriety of the complaint is established by the defence. Mr. Jones has assumed the prophecy of the witnesses as a measure of the existence of the Vaudois as a church; but he has cut off just so much of that measure as applies to that por-

tion, which he chooses to discredit, of Vaudois history. The prophet having foretold that the beast should "overcome them and kill them," (not *finally*, as Mr. Jones states), proceeds to describe the exposure of their bodies*, the triumph of their enemies, and *their resurrection at the end of three years and a half.* This important part of the prophecy Mr. Jones neglects; a part wonderfully applicable to the political death of the Vaudois, the suspension of pure religion in the valleys, and the re-establishment of both at the end also of three years and a half. Mr. Jones supports his partial application of this prophecy by the authority of bishops Lloyd, Newton, and Hurd, and of Whiston, Faber†, and Gauntlett, and adds that even Mr. Gilly himself admits it. But does he admit no more? On the contrary, Mr. Gilly, and with him the rest of the learned

* It is remarkable that Mede, who wrote before the expulsion of the Vaudois from their valleys, and their preservation in Switzerland and the Palatinate, infers, from this exposure of the bodies, that they would be preserved by their friends in anticipation of their resurrection.

† I am glad of an opportunity to apologise to this learned commentator for having excluded him, in a remark in my preface, from those who find the second horn of the beast in Mahomedanism.

authors named, consider, not a mutilated fragment, but the whole of the prophecy, and that whole is subversive of Mr. Jones's inference. Bishop Lloyd and Mr. Whiston conceived the resurrection of the witnesses to have been fulfilled in the recovery of the valleys by the Vaudois; and the former even made the application before the event, and "on this ground encouraged a refugee minister of the Vaudois, whose name was Jordan, to return home; and, returning, he heard the joyful news of the deliverance and restitution of his country." This circumstance has been repeated by Bishop Newton and Mr. Gilly. Thus this part of the testimony, cited by Mr. Jones to show that the recoverers of the valleys were not genuine Vaudois, when fairly given, goes to prove the reverse. Mr. Jones, however, has not only mutilated the evidence which he has quoted--he has also neglected proofs which lay before him. If the Vaudois of the "Rentrée" were a different race from the old inhabitants of the valleys, why did the Duke of Savoy confirm them in the possession of that territory? As mere soldiers they might have been paid, and dismissed after their service was performed. Whence, too, the subsequent edict, in

1726, banishing those *not born within* the valleys? And whence the recognition, by the Sardinian government, of their descendants as the legitimate owners of the soil?

It is more difficult than is generally supposed, as has been most ingeniously shown by the author of "Historic Doubts as to the Evidence of Napoleon Buonaparte," to establish personal identity: but in this instance we have unusual evidence. Shortly after the "glorieuse Rentrée," Mary, consort of William III., gave (as has been mentioned) a salary to the Vaudois pastors, &c. in lieu of that belonging to their ancestors. William gave a commission to Henri Arnaud and to his brother. It has been seen also that Queen Anne, under the influence of Archbishop Sharp, recognized them by her bounty. The Dutch and Swiss not only continued, but increased, their charities towards them. Are we to suppose that the objects of this interest were lawless freebooters, forcibly wresting lands from a legitimate sovereign? for such they must have been unless they were the same Vaudois who had been unjustly expelled from their inheritance. They were assisted, it is true, by some French refugees; but the latter were few in number, nor

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did they ultimately remain in the country. Moreover, Henri Arnaud's history is continually interspersed with allusions to the localities and posesssions, in the valleys, of persons under his command.

" But," says Mr. Jones, " we are quite content to rest the issue of this inquiry on the testimony, which is borne to the present state of the Vaudois, by our author and the other members of the established church, compared with the accounts which have been transmitted us, by friends and foes, concerning their ancestors. Let us try the subject on one or two points, and I begin with their doctrinal sentiments." In plain English, Mr. Jones presumes a difference in doctrine between the present and ancient Vaudois. I shall show that Mr. Jones, in endeavouring to establish this point, has persisted in the neglect and mutilation of evidence, which I have already convicted him of.

We are referred by him for proof, that the Vallenses maintained Calvin's *peculiar* sentiments, to " numerous testimonies given, pp. 90, et seq." of his history. These numerous testimonies consist in the remarks of some learned Romanists, that Calvin, Wickliffe, Luther, Huss,

and, in fact, protestants in general, professed doctrines similar to those of the Vallenses. These remarks evidently relate, not to any doctrines peculiar to individual reformers, but to that, held in common by them all, namely, separation from the Romish church. In fact the Romanists conceived that they degraded the reformed religion by attributing its origin to the poor and persecuted Vallenses. This general interpretation of these remarks is supported by one made by Popliniere, "that the doctrine of the *modern protestants* differs very little from that of the Vallenses." Mr. Jones has overlooked this passage, though contained in a paragraph partly inserted by him. He has extracted the whole from a chapter in Perrin's history, devoted, by that author, to prove the antiquity of the Vallensian church, without the slightest reference to protestant differences. "What," asks Mr. Jones, "shall we think of Mr. Gilly, who, in the face of all this evidence to the contrary, can stand up and tell us, that the peculiar doctrinal sentiments maintained by Calvin, never found any warm advocates in these valleys?" Had Mr. Jones interpreted this evidence faithfully, he would not have proposed the question.

Still greater indignation is excited in Mr. Jones by Mr. Gilly's statement, that the Vaudois are partial to episcopacy, and that they use the Genevese liturgy. "So much," he exclaims, "for the present race of churches in Piémont! Let the reader carefully examine the confessions published by their ancestors, and given in my History, vol. ii. ch. v. sect. 3., and try if he can find any thing that bears a resemblance to this order of things. As regards episcopacy, we find them saying, 'We must not obey the pope and bishops, because they are the wolves of the church of Christ.' So many orders of the clergy, so many marks of the beast."

Some of these confessions shall be examined, though not exactly as given by Mr. Jones.

But, first, I may be allowed (without affront, I hope, to the understandings of my readers) to expose a fallacy contained in the last sentence quoted from him, "as regards episcopacy, &c." It is not *as regards episcopacy*, that the Vaudois refused obedience to the pope and bishops, but, as they tell us in an expressive metaphor, because episcopacy was abused. Though they thought that *some* bishops were "wolves in the church," it does not follow that they thought *all*

to be so. Mr. Jones knew this when he described the earliest Vallenses as "disciples of Claude, *Bishop* of Turin, the Wickliffe of that city*;" and when he stated that some Moravian Vallenses "met with one Stephen, a *Waldensian bishop, who sent for others*, also residing in that quarter, with whom they had a conference upon the doctrines of the gospel, and the state of their churches; and by them the said three pastors were ordained by the imposition of hands†."

What "orders of the clergy" were alluded to, as "so many marks of the beast," I do not know, but I shall, by the following quotations, show what were *not;* and, at the same time, prove that the Vaudois were not hostile to episcopacy.

‡ *Of the ecclesiastical government of the churches of the Vaudois in Piémont, &c.*

"But if they have succeeded the apostles, as to their doctrine, they likewise succeeded them as

* Jones's Hist. vol. ii. p. 6, edit. 5.

† Ibid. p. 69.

‡ Boyer trans. p. 21.

to the *order and government of the church.* In the primitive church, Acts xx., the apostles established for the government of it, elders and deacons, as we may learn, as well from the Acts of the Apostles, as from their Epistles. The pastors are likewise called *bishops* and elders, 1 Tim. iii. They are called pastors, because they are to feed the flock of Christ, which are his sheep, with the good word of God; they are called *bishops*, which signifies inspectors or watchers, because they are to watch and take care of the flock committed to their charge; they are called elders, because they ought to be sage and prudent, &c. &c. The deacons had the care of the poor, and elders and deacons altogether had the government of the church."

ART. IX.

Of a confession of faith contained in Leger, l. 1, *p.* 100.

" Touchant les ordres ecclesiastiques, ou des *Surveillans* * et des ministres de l'église. Nous enseignons que les ministres de l'église, auxquels

* Is not this a literal translation of επισκοποι? The term, moreover, is applied in distinction from *ministres.*

est commise la predication de la parole, et l'administration des sacremens doivent être legitimement établis selon la règle que Jesus Christ et ses apôtres en a donnée, &c. et qu'ils doivent être creés par les anciens, et confirmés en la congregation à cet office par l' imposition des mains : c'est pourquoi il n'est permis à personne entre nous de faire la fonction de pasteur s'il n'est appellé et établi selon cette règle."

I will now examine a confession given by Mr. Jones, in his own history, as a standard of the doctrines of the ancient Vallenses. The fifth article in it commences with these words, " Nous tenons que les ministres de l'église, comme *évéques* et pasteurs doivent être irreprehensibles, &c*." This passage is thus translated in Mr. Jones's work : " We hold that the ministers of the church ought to be unblamable, &c †." The word *évéques* has been entirely neglected. I should have presumed that Mr. Jones had only consulted Lennard's translation, where the same error is committed, had he not referred his readers to the original work, " Jean Paul Perrin, Histoire des Vaudois, published at Geneva in

* Perrin, Hist. des Vaudois, p. 88.

† Jones, Hist. &c. vol. ii. p. 51.

1619," and had he not, in the same sentence *, pledged himself to the fidelity of the translation.

In the same defiance of authorities within his reach, Mr. Jones affirms, "that the Vallenses had no liturgy—no thirty-nine articles, to guard them from error, heresy, or schism—nor any privileged order of clergymen, paid or pensioned, for discharging the duties of the pastoral office."

A privileged order of clergymen is sufficiently recognised in the extracts already considered; their payment is equally so, in the following answer to a demand for tithes made by the Romish priesthood. "Les dismes, ou plutôt au lieu d' iceux, l'entretien des ministres ecclesiastiques, est du seulement aux legitimes pasteurs, &c. Le seigneur a ordonné que ceux qui annoncent l'évangile, doivent vivre d'évangile, disant, que *l'ouvrier est digne de son salaire*†."

Though no Vallensian confession of faith is divided precisely into *thirty-nine* articles, yet they are for the most part drawn up in the shape of articles, as are two of those inserted by Mr. Jones. Does he consider thirty-nine a cabalistic

* Jones, Hist. &c. vol. ii. p. 45.

† Gilles, Eglises de Piémont, p. 266.

number? The existence of a liturgy is shown in the thirtieth article of a confession preserved by Leger, and translated by me in a former part of this volume. "Et afin que tout le monde voye clairement notre croyance sur ce point, nous ajoutons ici les mêmes termes qui sont couchés en notre prière avant la communion *dans notre liturgie, &c.*"

It is, however, on the subject of baptism among the Vaudois that Mr. Jones assumes his most triumphant attitude over Mr. Gilly, appealing, as usual, to their confessions of faith and other writings, and winding up this unfortunate preface with the following sentence—"They neither sprinkled nor immersed their children, under the notion of administering Christian baptism; they were, in a word, so many distinct churches of ANTIPÆDOBAPTISTS." Now Leger informs us that *Trine Aspersion** was practised by the ancient Vallenses in the baptismal rites, and, at the same time, accounts

* I have no note of the page, nor have I immediate access to a copy of Leger's work. But the passage is in that chapter of the first book which treats of the discipline of the Vallensian church in his own times.

for the discontinuance of the practice in its triple form.

Boyer * and Leger both insert a declaration by the Vaudois, in the book of antichrist, a book much quoted by Mr. Jones, that "it is not necessary in baptism to put the sign of the cross upon the head of *the infant*, nor a lighted torch in the *child's* hand." Perrin, so frequently referred to by him, gives the following exposition of this sacrament. "Or est ce baptesme visible et materiel, lequel ne fait la personne ni bonne ni mauvaise, comme nous apprenons en l'écriture de Simon Magus et de St. Paul. Et ce que le baptesme est administré en pleine congregation des fidelles, c'est afin que celui qui est reçue soit reputé et tenu de tous pour frère Chretien, et que tous prient pour lui qu'il soit Chretien de cœur comme il est extérieurement estimé être Chretien. *Et c'est pour cela que l'on presente les enfans au baptesme, ce que doivent faire ceux à qui les enfans touchent de plus près.*"

Is this the doctrine of antipædobaptism?

It should be remembered, that these misstatements of Mr. Jones were produced to show that

* P. 13.

the existing Vaudois are not descendants of the Vallenses—a circumstance implying, to their advocates, gross and wilful self-deception, as well as an attempt to deceive others. They also affect an interesting fact in ecclesiastical history, namely, the present existence of a primitive church, which has never deserted the pure doctrine of Christ. Moreover, the fulfilment of a prophecy is implicated. The refutation of such misstatements was, therefore, important, and is, I trust, complete; I will now close the invidious task, with expressing my sincere regret that they should have been prefixed to so valuable a work as Mr. Jones's History of the Christian Church.

THE END.

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